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Economics Secretaries Begin Meeting in Berlin
*AU0706200389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jun 89 p 1*

[ND report: "Central Committee Secretaries for Economy Meet in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—A routine meeting of Central Committee economics secretaries from fraternal parties of the CEMA countries is beginning in Berlin today [6 June]. It will be opened by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee.

Taking part in the meeting are, on the part of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; for the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, Pal Ivanyi, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; for the Communist Party of Vietnam, Vu Oanh, Central Committee secretary; for the Communist Party of Cuba, Lionel Soto Prieto, Secretariat member and Central Committee secretary; for the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Demchigjabin Molomjams, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; for the Polish United Workers Party, Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; for the Romanian Communist Party, Ion Sirbu, Central Committee secretary; for the CPSU, Vladislav Shimko, director of the Central Committee Socio-Economic Department; for the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

In addition, CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev takes part.

The meeting serves as an exchange of experiences on the broad introduction of results from science and technology, as well as the discussion of current tasks of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the fraternal countries.

Honecker Opens Meeting

*LD0706174589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1420 GMT 6 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee [CC] and chairman of the GDR State Council, received the economic secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties of the CEMA countries in Berlin this afternoon. Their regular meeting is taking place in Berlin.

In the course of the meeting, the general secretary briefed his guests on experiences and results in the implementations of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, particularly in the sphere of economic and social policy. He paid tribute to the initiatives and achievements of the workers of the GDR in all spheres of social life for the preparation of the 40th anniversary of the GDR as an

expression of the close unity between party and people. The shaping of developed socialist society in the GDR is taking place as an integrated process of continuity and renewal. Erich Honecker explained to the guests the fundamental tasks for the further implementation of the economic strategy of the SED in the preparation of the 12th party congress.

As an important precondition for strengthening the positions of socialism in every country and in the whole community, Erich Honecker stressed the further deepening of scientific-technical and economic cooperation between the CEMA countries. The present meeting of the economic secretaries concerning even more effective cooperation in science and production will contribute to an even better use of the creative capacities and advantages of socialism.

Erich Honecker stressed the many and varied disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other states of the Warsaw Pact as an expression of the determination to continue the process of disarmament and detente without a break. The steps already initiated for the unilateral reduction of the forces of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states point the way to a world without war and violence. The GDR attaches extraordinary importance to separate negotiations on the gradual reduction and eventual removal of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in the near future. Erich Honecker underlined the GDR's determination, within the Warsaw Pact alliance, in constructive cooperation with other states and with initiatives of its own, to contribute at an international level to the disarmament process in the interest of peace.

The meeting in the offices of the SED Central Committee was attended by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; from the Bulgarian Communist Party by Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party by Pal Ivanyi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; from the Vietnamese Communist Party by Vu Oanh, secretary of the Central Committee and head of the economic affairs department; from the Cuban Communist Party by Lionel Soto Prieto, member of the Secretariat and secretary of the Central Committee; from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party by Demchigiyn Molomjams, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; from the Polish United Workers Party by Wladyslaw Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; from the Romanian Communist Party by Ion Sirbu, secretary of the Central Committee; from the CPSU by Vladimir Shimko, head of the Central Committee Social and Economic Department; and from the Czechoslovak Communist Party by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee.

CSSR's Lenart Arrives

*LD0506203189 Prague CTK in English
1945 GMT 5 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin June 5 (CTK correspondent)—Members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and secretary of its Central Committee Jozef Lenart arrived here today.

He will attend here a consultation of Central Committee Secretaries of communist and workers' parties of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states for economic questions due Tuesday and Wednesday.

Lenart Comments on Meeting

*LD0706230689 Prague CTK in English
1813 GMT 7 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin June 7 (CTK correspondent)—A common market within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance must be a market accepting the basic parameters in the sphere of prices, laws and ways of exchanging goods that are usual worldwide. Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart said here today.

In an interview for Czechoslovak journalist prior to his departure home after attending a meeting of secretaries for economic questions of the central committees of the communist and workers parties from CMEA member states, Jozef Lenart said a future common market must be a market ruling out unemployment, bankruptcies, capable of preventing big losses and unfavourable social impacts on the population. He stressed that development of science and technology and a common market would be, above all, a source of progress in CMEA countries.

He said the participants in the meeting agreed to stress in their parties the necessity of a speedy development of science and technology, inter alia through integration and a common market.

Asked about the Czechoslovak delegation's suggestions made at the meeting, Jozef Lenart said it accentuated the need for products of scientific-technological development to be regarded as goods, and for analogous prices, comparable with those on the main world markets, to be paid for analogous parameters of the products of science and technology.

Lenart Interviewed on Cooperation

*AU1106153789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Jun 89 p 7*

[CTK correspondent's report: "We Share an Interest in Improved Cooperation; Conclusion of a Consultative Meeting of Fraternal Parties' Secretaries"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (CTK correspondent)—A 2-day consultative meeting of secretaries for economic questions of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties from CMEA member-countries ended in Berlin on Wednesday [7 June]. [passage omitted]

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, addressed the consultative meeting Wednesday morning. He spoke, among other things, about the continuous attention which the CPCZ devotes to scientific-technical development, which, as he said, has yielded a number of positive results in the development of the Czechoslovak national economy and in people's increased standard of living. At the same time he critically pointed out that our country is not succeeding in fully implementing progress in science and technology and in promoting it as a social process in all its economic and social aspects.

Before departing for home, Jozef Lenart gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists accredited in the GDR.

Asked about the significance of the consultative meeting that had just been concluded, J. Lenart replied:

Its significance lies, above all, in the realization of the rapidly advancing scientific-technical progress and in its political utilization in the CEMA member-countries. We agreed on the objective necessity of a speedy development of science and technology, including by way of integration, internationalization, and a common market.

[Question] Which opinions were expressed with regard to the possibilities of improving the mechanism of management within the framework of CEMA?

[Lenart] The consultative meeting mainly focused on questions of scientific-technical development and cooperation. We agreed, however, that this development does not take place outside the mechanism of the council and that it does not take place outside the economic mechanisms of individual member countries either. It is an organic and irreplaceable part of the contemporary development of the economy, living standards, and our countries' sovereignty.

[Question] You have made mention of the common market. What are the prospects of its being formed?

[Lenart] We mostly agreed that a common market within the framework of our community can and must be a form of further progress in science and technology and in the economy as a whole. It must be a market accepting in the sphere of prices, laws, and ways of exchanging goods the basic parameters that are customary in the world. It must be a market ruling out unemployment and bankruptcies and preventing big losses and unfavorable social impacts on the population. The development of science and technology and a common market can be, and are, an immense hidden asset but, above all, a source of further progress in our countries.

[Question] Which suggestions did our delegation make at the consultative meeting?

[Lenart] We accentuated the need to modernize cooperation in such a way that products of scientific and technological development come to be regarded as goods and that analogous prices, comparable with those on the main world markets, are paid for analogous parameters of the products of science and technology.

Poland's Baka Attends

*LD0706015189 Warsaw PAP in English
2002 GMT 6 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin, June 6—A periodical meeting of economic secretaries of Central Committees of the fraternal parties of CMEA [Council of Economic Mutual Cooperation] opened here today.

PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] is being represented by the Political Bureau Member and CC [Central Committee] Secretary Wladyslaw Baka.

Berlin Meeting Closes

*LD0706180889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1131 GMT 7 Jun 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The regular meeting of the economic secretaries of the central committees of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member countries took place on 6 and 7 June in Berlin. [passage omitted]

The heads of the delegations of the parties attending the meeting were received by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the State Council.

Working on the basis of the central role of science and technology in strengthening the economic potential of the CEMA countries, there was an exchange of fundamental experiences of the implementation of the policies of the parties attending the meeting for securing a broad introduction of scientific-technical results into production and into the social sphere. All sides agreed that the exchange of experiences had been useful. It reflected the efforts to shape even more effectively the party's influence on the close integration of science and production in the interests of high economic efficiency under the specific conditions in the individual CEMA member countries. This will contribute to the achievement of the highest performance in various sectors and the promotion of socioeconomic development of socialist society in each country.

The secretaries of the central committees discussed the results achieved in cooperation on the basis of the integrated program of scientific-technical progress of the CEMA countries. They came out in favor of constant updating of the integrated program, based on the rapidly growing demands being made on science and production. It was stressed that the raising of the efficacy of scientific-technical cooperation and the swift introduction of the results of research and development are closely linked to

further improving the mechanism of economic cooperation, with the raising of the level of personal interest of the research and production organizations, and with the development of contractual relations.

They stressed the need to fulfill the obligations undertaken competently and on time, and to exploit even more comprehensively the opportunities for cooperation and collaboration, particularly in introducing new achievements of the scientific-technical revolution into production processes. In this connection they discussed proposals to increase the role of leading research and production facilities of CEMA countries in organizing scientific-technical cooperation on a contractual basis, including technology transfer, and in the exploitation of their results in production and in the social sphere.

In the course of the meeting there followed an exchange of opinions on the cooperation of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member countries for further deepening cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration. Emphasis was laid on the fact that implementing coordination of plans for the period from 1991 to 1995, in accordance with the new conditions and demands of economic development in the countries, will help to ensure that stable foundations are created for developing reciprocal economic relations. Long-term cooperation between enterprises, combines, and organizations on a contractual basis will be of increasing importance here.

During the exchange of opinions, questions of the prospective creation of a unified market of interested CEMA member countries were also dealt with. The participants in the discussion stressed the necessity of purposefully implementing decisions made at the 43d and 44th meeting of CEMA on the completion of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and of socialist economic integration and the reorganization of CEMA's activity. It is necessary here to strengthen the party's influence in fulfilling these tasks.

The participants in the discussion expressed firm determination to reopen the reciprocal cooperation with the socialist republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba, and the Mongolian People's Republic, and thereby to further increase its effectiveness. This will help to ensure that the process of gradual approximation and alignment of the economic development level of these countries is accelerated to reach the level of the European CEMA countries.

The economic secretaries of the central committees of the parties taking part in the discussions advocated the extension, on a just and mutually advantageous basis, of the universal economic and scientific-technical cooperation with all socialist countries, developing countries, and other countries in the world, irrespective of their socioeconomic orders.

The discussion took place in a constructive and business-like atmosphere.

Field Maneuvers Set for 6-8 Jun in Hungary

LD0506202689 Budapest MTI in English
1915 GMT 5 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 5 (MTI)—According to the annual training schedule of the united armed forces of Warsaw Treaty member states, there will be field manoeuvres in Hungary from 6 to 8 June, including air and ground manoeuvres by Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Soviet air forces and equipment. The exercise will be supervised by Lieutenant General Janos Stock, chief of the air defence and flying division of the Hungarian People's Army and deputy minister of defence.

EC Spokesman Comments on Trade With CEMA States

AU0206182689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Jun 89 p 1

[Interview with Nico Wegter, spokesman of the Commission of European Communities for External Relations, by Ladislav Alster, in Brussels: "First Negotiations Held in Prague; Our Trade With the European Communities"—date not given]

[Excerpts] Brussels (By our special correspondent)—A session of the joint consultative body of the CSSR and the European Communities [EC] is to take place in Prague on the first 2 days of June. Nico Wegter, spokesman of the EC Commission for External Relations, Trade Policy, and Cooperation With Other European States, replied to questions put to him by our correspondent.

[Alster] What do you expect the Prague negotiations to yield?

[Wegter] This will be the very first time that the mixed CSSR-EC body will convene, and this fact alone has a basic significance. The agenda of this session will primarily include the implementation of the bilateral CSSR-EC agreement on industrial goods trade, which was concluded in the last quarter of 1989, and also the specifics of the further development of mutual relations. The main concern will be to intensify and expand trade relations for the benefit of both sides.

[Alster] How are relations between the EC and the CEMA member states developing?

[Wegter] The bilateral contractual relations between the EC and the CEMA states have recently shown considerable progress. Bilateral trade contracts have already been concluded between the EC and the CSSR, and between the EC and Hungary. [passage omitted] The EC's relations with individual CEMA member states will be differentiated. EC Commission Chairman Jacques Delors has declared that he "imagines the Europe of the

future as a common village with several cottages, where some of the cottage dwellers will visit each other more often, and some less often." [passage omitted]

Bloc Academies Discuss Economic Planning in Sofia

AU0606194289 Sofia BTA in English
1844 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Hungary participate in the 12th session of the Problem Commission on Multilateral Scientific Cooperation Between the Socialist Countries' Academies of Sciences which started here in this capital city. They discuss issues of the improvement of planning and management of national economy of the CMEA member countries.

Parallel with that session there is a scientific session on the management of market-oriented socialist economy. The aim is to outline the ways for increase of the role the commodity-goods relations in the management of national economy.

Economic Integration Conference Held in Prague

AU0606161089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Jun 89 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "On Socialist Economic Integration"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [1 June] a 2-day international scientific-pedagogical conference on the topic of the Improvement of the Process of International Socialist Economic Integration Under Conditions of the Intensification of the Economies of the CEMA Member States came to an end at the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee School of Advanced Politics in Prague. Educators and scientific workers from the universities and scientific institutions of the fraternal parties—the CPSU, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Polish United Workers Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the Romanian Communist Party—participated in it.

Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary Central Committee, spoke at the conference on topical problems in CEMA and the participation of the CSSR in international socialist economic integration.

CEMA Countries' UNESCO Conference Opens

AU0606122889 Sofia BTA in English
0932 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—A meeting of deputy ministers of culture and representatives of the National Commissions for UNESCO from the socialist CMEA member states was opened today in Sofia. It is for the

first time that representatives of the socialist countries are gathering in order to outline their strategy for the world decade for development of culture.

As it was stressed in the address of greetings to the participants by Mr. Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education of Bulgaria, the outlining of joint initiatives is in interest of the international cultural cooperation. The participation in the world cultural decade is in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking.

At the meeting the delegates inform each other of their national programmes. Committees in connection with the decade have been established in most of the socialist countries and it is viewed as an opportunity for communication between the different cultures. Attention was paid to the European cultural cooperation which will be activated by some of the initiatives declared by the different countries. The spheres to which considerable attention is paid are: preservation of cultural heritage, ecological and cultural education, research and popularization of traditional culture and folklore, European cultural identity.

CEMA States Agree on Joint Biology Centers
AU0606092789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Further Biology Centers To Be Set Up"]

[Text] Zdar nad Sazavou—The second session of the CEMA Bureau for Cooperation in the Agricultural-Industrial Complex ended in Bystrica nad Pernštejnem, in the Zdar nad Sazavou District, on Thursday [1 June] with the signing of seven agreements.

The delegations concluded agreements on the establishment of one international scientific research center for biological plant protection with its headquarters in the USSR and of one for genetic plant resources in the USSR, as well as of two biotechnology centers for animal production in the CSSR and the USSR.

Documents were also signed for three large target projects involving cooperation in the development and production of a set of facilities for making diagnoses from the immunoferment analyses [imunofermentni

analysy] of virus and bacterial diseases of agricultural plants in the production of cleansed seed materials; in the development and production of veterinary preparations against mouth disease [slintavka]; and in the development of nitrogen-stabilizing microorganism preparations for basic agricultural crops.

The agreements have already become valid, and their implementation will strikingly contribute toward intensifying agricultural production, particularly by applying knowledge acquired in biotechnology. The agreements have established prerequisites for developing production cooperation in the agricultural-industrial complex of CEMA countries.

Socialist Countries' Transport Ministers Meet
AU0206184789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1801 GMT 2 Jun 89

["Ministerial Meeting of Socialist Countries Member in the OCR"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 02/06/1989—May 30 through June 2 Bucharest hosted the 17th ministerial meeting of socialist countries member in the Organization for the Collaboration of Railways (OCR). Participating were the ministers and heads of transports of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, China, Cuba, Hungary, GDR, DPR of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, USSR and Vietnam.

Examined during the meeting were current questions regarding the organization's activity in point of railway and road transport as well as of road construction, updating and maintenance. Special attention has been paid to enhancing the efficiency of railway and road passenger and freight transport in international traffic and improving it, and achieving better results in the joint research, and creating an electronic network to convey data among interested countries member in the OCR.

Also examined was the way OCR plans are being prepared for the 1991-1995 interval.

The heads of the participant delegations called on Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea. During the interview the sides set forth multiple possibilities to intensify the cooperation among the OCR countries in the field of transports.

Bulgarian Army Chief Views NATO, Pact Proposals
AU0806075189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 5 Jun 89 p 5

[Article by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army: "The Positions Are Outlined"]

[Text] Hardly anyone doubts that the chief distinguishing feature of the contemporary world is the the great dynamism of the processes in the various spheres of human society. This affects science, the economy, and the social, intellectual, and ethical spheres. At the same time, the danger for our civilization is also increasing. For this civilization to survive, profound changes are needed in the entire system of international relations. This requirement also determines the immense importance of the dialogue between East and West, North and South, and between all the main political forces in the international arena, most of all on the problems of military security.

At present the attention of a large part of world public opinion is turned toward the so-called Vienna forum, where simultaneous talks are in progress on reducing the conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures.

These talks are still at their very beginning, barely 3 months having elapsed since their commencement. However, it may be said that the positions of the two sides are now quite clearly delineated, following the recent proposals made in Vienna by the representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states and the program set out by U.S. President Bush in Brussels on 29 May. These proposals naturally need to be comprehensively studied in depth, but certain conclusions may be reached even now.

It must be noted with satisfaction that the proposals are similar or coincide as regards a number of points.

First, both the Warsaw Pact and NATO declare their support for establishing equal collective maximum levels for armed forces and weapons that are substantially lower than those now existing in either of the two alliances. These levels are shown in table 1.

In his conversation with James Baker, Comrade Gorbachev informed him that, in order to reach these levels, the Warsaw Pact would have to reduce its forces by 40,000 tanks, 46,000 artillery pieces and mortars, and approximately 42,000 combat infantry vehicles and armored personnel carriers. Appropriate reductions would also have to be made by NATO. In this way, the change from the principle of overarmament to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency is being implemented in practice.

The establishment of equal collective maximum levels removes the danger of the participants in the negotiations becoming involved in senseless discussions on figures and provides an opportunity to reach a just solution of the problem of eliminating asymmetries and imbalances. The side that has a superiority in a given category of weapons and combat equipment will make the greater cut.

Second, both the Warsaw Pact and NATO are placing the stress on the need first of all to eliminate all those categories of weapons that have the greatest potential for sudden attack and carrying out large-scale operations.

Third, both the coalitions taking part in the talks consider that the entire zone from the atlantic to the urals should be divided into regions, and that equal collective maximum limits should be established for each region.

Fourth, neither side has any objection regarding the need to determine the maximum amount of conventional armed forces and weapons that a state may possess within the framework of the coalition, and the number of armed forces that may be located outside national territorial borders.

Fifth, both alliances recognize the need to implement continuous effective verification of the fulfillment of the arms cuts measures.

These are the common features in the positions of the two sides. They undoubtedly create favorable conditions for the negotiation process.

Unfortunately, quite a number of differences also exist. Moreover, these are of fundamental importance.

First, embodied in the NATO position is the desire to avoid personnel reductions in their armed forces. They are inclined to view this issue solely in the context of cuts in specific weapon systems. Surely, however, personnel make up the chief component of armed forces, and personnel cuts entirely fall within the subject of the negotiations.

As far as the Warsaw Pact states are concerned, apart from everything else, this position is unacceptable because of the fact that the personnel strength of NATO exceeds that of our alliance, and this superiority will become even greater when the unilateral reductions announced by the USSR and the other allied countries at the end of last year and the beginning of this year have been carried out.

Second, one cannot accept as logical NATO's position regarding the definition of categories of weapons that provide the potential for sudden attack and carrying out large-scale operations. Originally the United States and its allies only included tanks, armored fighting vehicles (armored personnel carriers), and artillery in these categories. The proposal made by U.S. President Bush in

Brussels on 29 May added a new angle to their approach, namely expanding the list of the most destabilizing weapons to include aircraft and helicopters. However, it must immediately be stressed that this proposal contains certain features that give rise to objection.

As can be seen from his formulation of the issue, Bush has in mind not only "strike" aircraft, but also "combat" aircraft in general, which means the potential for sudden attack and carrying out large-scale operations is taken to include the fighters, military transport aircraft, and all the transport helicopters that the Warsaw Pact has at its disposal, despite the fact that these cannot by designation be classified as destabilizing weapons. Thus, NATO is attempting to conceal its great superiority over the Warsaw Pact in strike aircraft and ground-attack helicopters. However, surely these are the most advanced and powerful type of offensive weapons, capable of carrying out strikes over the entire depth of the troop groupings' dispositions and against the most important targets on the other side's territory, because of which they are assigned a crucial role in so-called airland operations (battles!).

It is clear to everyone that the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, because of the vast territory of the Soviet Union and in view of the serious consequences that an airspace attack may have, are obliged to maintain a large number of fighter aircraft (more than 1,800 planes). These aircraft are primarily designated to engage the U.S. strategic and carrier-based aircraft. Furthermore, why is the fact "passed over" that multipurpose aircraft predominate in the West's air forces, because of which the number of interceptor fighters intended solely for defense does not exceed 50 planes?

The proposal of President Bush contains a further feature that cannot be passed over. The Vienna talks were supposed to discuss the question of reductions only in land-based aircraft and helicopters. This question indeed corresponds to the mandate of the talks on reducing conventional armed forces, but it was entered there at the insistence of NATO, by which our alliance has been placed in an extremely unfavorable position. It is well-known that almost the whole of our naval aviation is land-based, whereas in NATO only 150 planes are based on land. However, the United States and its allies have 10 times more carrier-based aircraft, which, together with the 150 land-based aircraft, comprise 1,630 combat planes, most of which are designated to carry out mass strikes on land targets.

I have touched on this aspect of the problem because it is one of the typical manifestations of the Western countries' selective approach in determining the balance of forces.

NATO's attempts to place our alliance in an unfavorable position are even more clearly evident in determining the initial base for reductions in combat aircraft and helicopters. According to George Bush, every country

must reduce its numbers of such aircraft to a level 15 percent below that now existing in NATO. What does this mean, and what is the aim of such an approach to the problem of reducing these categories of weapons?

According to the figures published by the north Atlantic alliance in Brussels on 25 November, the NATO countries have at their disposal a total of 3,977 aircraft and 2,419 helicopters, compared to the 8,250 aircraft and 3,700 helicopters in the Warsaw Pact. It is not difficult to understand that no real existing superiority for us in striking and fire power lies behind this unfavorable correlation of numbers for NATO, because this correlation is formed, as already pointed out above, by unfairly and unjustifiably including in the balance the interceptor fighters from the air defense system of the allied countries. Moreover, the figures for the Warsaw Pact are deliberately exaggerated. In this situation, the implementation of the proposal made by Bush would require the USSR and the other allied states to make cuts of 4,873 aircraft and 1,747 helicopters, whereas NATO would only have to make reductions of 600 aircraft and 366 helicopters.

Third, an objection arises to the principle put forward in the NATO countries' proposal, according to which no country within either alliance may possess more than 30 percent of the total number of tanks, artillery systems, and armored vehicles. This proposal would be acceptable if the numbers and capabilities of the participants in each of the two opposed coalitions were approximately the same or comparable, but this is far from being the case. Whereas 16 states participate in NATO, the Warsaw Pact has seven member states. Moreover, the USSR forms the backbone of our defensive alliance, and its capabilities exceed those of all the other allied countries taken together. Furthermore, NATO, apart from the United States, includes among its members such great, economically and militarily strong states as the FRG, Great Britain, France, and Italy. This is why the establishment for the two alliances of an identical limit on the armed forces and weapons that an individual country may possess is objectively unfair, since it places them in an unequal position. The same is more or less true regarding the question of maximum levels for the armed forces of the states of one alliance that are located outside their national territories.

The statement to the NATO Council session in Brussels (on 29-30 May 1989) and the declaration adopted by the state and government representatives of the bloc propose a gradual reduction in the U.S. Armed Forces' personnel stationed in Europe until a ceiling of 275,000 men is reached for the land troops and air forces. The Soviet troops stationed outside the national borders in the zone from the Atlantic to the Urals are also to be reduced to the same ceiling. According to NATO's calculations, this means that the United States will have to withdraw and demobilize 60,000 men, and the Soviet Union—325,000 men. As can be seen, this again disregards the different positions of the two coalitions. Within the Warsaw Pact,

only the Soviet Union has troops and aircraft stationed outside the borders of its national territory, whereas in NATO, apart from the Americans, Canada, Great Britain, Belgium, and Holland also have fighting units outside their national borders (on FRG territory).

Fourth, each of the two alliances has already placed its own plan for the regional division of the European-Atlantic zone on the table at the Vienna talks, showing the numbers of troops and weapons that the coalitions may deploy individually in each region.

The NATO proposal envisages marking out four concentrically located regions within the borders of the zone. Analysis of the proposal shows that the bloc's troops and weapons in central Europe remain almost untouched, while in the Balkans there is even a possibility of increasing them; that is, this shows that the aim is to preserve the capabilities to implement the so-called "forward defense" concept. At the same time, the adoption of this proposal would inevitably give rise to a major restructuring of the operational and strategic groupings of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces and a restriction of their capabilities.

The plan proposed by the Warsaw Pact for regional division of the zone is radically different from NATO's. It is subordinate to one of the chief aims of the talks, namely the achievement of strategic stability through reductions in armed forces and weapons, primarily in the territories adjacent to the line of contact between the two coalitions. It therefore provides for belts to be specially designated as forward areas on both sides of this line and along its whole extent, and for the territory in depth to be marked out as rear areas. Furthermore, the maximum numbers of armed forces and weapons in the forward areas and in central Europe in particular are to be reduced to the levels shown in table 2.

Fifth, in Brussels the U.S. President proposed a text, and the NATO Council embodied it in its declaration, according to which the treaty on conventional armed forces was to be concluded within 6-12 months, and the reductions themselves completed by 1992-93. The following questions arise: Can such a large reduction in conventional armed forces be carried out within such a tight deadline? What are the motives of the party that is setting these deadlines? Are they perhaps pursuing propaganda aims? Perhaps the U.S. Administration, in reducing the deadlines to the absolute limit, is also guided by a desire to prompt an objection from the Soviet Union, which it might utilize as an argument for accelerating the updating of the tactical missiles and their deployment in Europe.

Despite these differences in the NATO and Warsaw Pact positions and the critical comments made on certain aspects of the proposals put forward by our partners, the overall impression is that the talks are proceeding in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere. The conviction becomes increasingly established that the achievement

of accords on the issues under discussion is a completely realistic goal. However, it would be naive on our part to close our eyes to the continuing attempts by the U.S. delegation and their allies to push us mainly toward unilateral concessions that guarantee them a number of strategic advantages.

Nor can one ignore the fact that certain circles in the West are continuing to scare their peoples with the spurious threat from the East. As can be seen from the above-mentioned NATO Council declaration, these circles still have no desire or intention to abandon the policy based on force. In complete contradiction to reality, they ceaselessly persuade their peoples that peace has allegedly been preserved thanks to the "nuclear deterrent" strategy they have pursued, and forecast disaster for the world if they are forced to abandon it. Despite the progress achieved in the talks with the Soviet Union on limiting strategic offensive weapons, the United States continues to carry out the program for their development. The plans for SDI are also being implemented.

The success of the Vienna talks largely depends on NATO's readiness to conduct parallel negotiations on reducing and eliminating tactical nuclear weapons and on reducing naval forces. The intensification of the positive changes in the world also requires a new generation of measures to strengthen confidence and security. It is extremely necessary that these measures should also encompass the independent activities of air forces and navies. The problems of reducing military expenditures, giving a defensive character to military doctrines, overcoming the military division of Europe, and so on are acquiring increasing topical importance.

War—the chief threat to mankind, can and must be prevented. The acknowledgement of the priority of universal human values and interests and the right of peoples to sociopolitical choice, the removal of ideology from international relations, the establishment of mutual confidence and cooperation between peoples—this is the policy in the international arena of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other allied states, and it embodies a great potential. There is no doubt that this potential will be fully utilized to guarantee the success of the Vienna talks.

Table 1. Collective Maximum Levels

Description	Pact	NATO	Description
Strength of land forces and frontal (tactical) aviation (thousands of men)	1.350.0	275.0, only for Soviet and U.S. troops stationed outside their national borders.	Strength of land forces and frontal (tactical) aviation.

Combat strike aircraft of the air forces (bombers, fighter bombers, and ground attack aircraft).	1,500	15 percent less than existing level in NATO.	Combat aircraft.
Combat helicopters.	1,700	15 percent less than existing level in NATO.	Combat helicopters.
Tanks.	20,000	20,000	Tanks.
Armored fighting vehicles.	28,000	28,000	Armored fighting vehicles.
Multiple rocket launcher systems, guns, mortars, and antitank guns (100 mm caliber and above).	24,000	from 16,500 to 24,000	Artillery pieces (100 mm caliber and above).

Table 2. Maximum Levels of the Armed Forces of Each Alliance According to Regions (Warsaw Pact Proposal)

**In Belts of Contact
(forward areas)**

Description	Total	Including in central Europe	In rear areas
Personnel	1,000,000	570,000	350,000
Combat strike aircraft	1,100	420	400
Combat helicopters	1,300	800	400
Tanks	16,000	8,700	4,000
Artillery	16,500	7,600	7,500
Armored fighting vehicles	20,500	14,500	7,500

Note: Central Europe is comprised of the GDR, Poland, CSSR, and Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, and the FRG, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, and Denmark from NATO.

INF Implementation Assessed as 'Encouraging'
AU0606152689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jun 89 p 2

["-ng" commentary: "Encouraging Interim Balance Sheet"]

[Text] One year after the coming into force of the first Soviet-U.S. disarmament treaty a positive interim balance sheet is available. Of the 2,611 land-based nuclear missiles of intermediate- and shorter-range, which both partners have obligated themselves to eliminate, 1,269 had been destroyed by 1 June. This is almost half of the 1,515 missiles with ranges of 1,000 to 5,500 km and of the 1,096 missiles with ranges of 500 to 1,000 km, which are to be eliminated within 3 and 1 and ½ years respectively.

Stock-taking demonstrates two facts, whose topical importance is obvious. First: Regardless of all profound differences and problems between socialism and capitalism, progress on the path toward lastingly averting the nuclear threat is possible if all sides are seriously willing

to do so. This was the case with the INF Treaty. Second, the experiences of the past 12 months show the unity of disarmament and verification of its implementation. Loyalty to the treaty was verified by 340 inspections; in addition, both partners exercised their right to make inspections on short notice.

In this respect everything speaks in favor of letting the first step toward a world without nuclear weapons be immediately followed by others. Outstanding importance is accorded to the speedy conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the 50-percent reduction of their strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the AMB Treaty. After an interruption of more than 6 months—caused by the United States—this will be negotiated again in Geneva as of 19 June. No less urgent are negotiations on eliminating the tactical nuclear weapons remaining in Europe, as the Warsaw Pact has proposed and which is advocated by a wide range of political forces in Western Europe.

However, strong trends to the contrary cannot be overlooked. The NATO summit in Brussels made clear that this military pact adheres to the strategy of nuclear deterrence and to the stationing of U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe. This cannot be hidden by strenuously negotiated compromise formulas, which can be interpreted in various ways. In order to free our continent and our planet from all nuclear weapons, one needs much patience and steadfast efforts. The peoples are encouraged not to tire in the struggle for peace and disarmament by what they have already achieved.

Delegation Discusses CSCE Process in West Berlin
AU0806112289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Views on CSCE in Berlin (West)"]

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—On Tuesday [6 June] a delegation of the GDR CSCE committee was in Berlin (West) for an exchange of views on the continuation of the CSCE process. Participating in the discussions on questions of the negotiations on disarmament and confidence-building in Vienna, on cooperation in the field of environmental protection, and on the human dimension of his process were representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Alternative List, and the Christian Democratic Union, as well as representatives of the Free Democratic Party, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, and of social organizations. Stefan Doernberg, head of the GDR delegation and president of the GDR's CSCE committee, stressed that disarmament and security continue to be the central issues of the CSCE. A third zero option is on the agenda and not the modernization of weapons.

The delegation of the GDR committee was received by Hilde Schramm, vice president of the Berlin (West) Chamber of Deputies, and by Dieter Schroeder, head of the senate office.

Alia Hits SFRY, USSR, PRC Domestic Moves
AU0906193389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 9 June carries a 20-minute report on the proceedings of the 17th Shkoder District Democratic Front Conference on 9 June, attended by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary.

The report includes a 2-minute recording of a portion of a speech by Alia, in which he expresses his pleasure at visiting Shkoder, and conveys greetings to the Democratic Front Conference from the Albanian Workers' Party Central Committee and the General Council of the Democratic Front. The report continues with a correspondent's description of Alia's speech, in which he is reported as speaking on the role of the Democratic Front, praising the economic achievements of Shkoder District, and stressing the need to concentrate on the development of highland regions. The report also states that Alia spoke on "the role of the Democratic Front in preserving the purity of socialist moral values, and instilling them among the working masses."

The report states that "Comrade Ramiz also dwelt on certain aspects of the international situation. Among other things, he condemned the use of violence in Yugoslav policy against the Albanians in Kosovo, with its murders, mass imprisonments, and other measures. The imposition of a state of siege and military rule, and the state terrorism being exercised against Albanian young people and intellectuals [words indistinct] in defense of their inalienable rights, not only testify to the existence of a chauvinist, anti-Albanian atmosphere, but reflect the degeneration of the political and social order in Yugoslavia. [Words indistinct], Comrade Ramiz Alia went on, are also taking place today in the Soviet Union and China, where the reformed order its extending its undemocratic [word indistinct] by the use of weapons."

The report concludes with a recorded excerpt of Alia's speech, wishing the Democratic Front conference success in its proceedings.

Further on Alia Remarks

AU1006165989 Tirana ATA in English
0840 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—After expressing his satisfaction on participating in this conference, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: I come to Shkoder always with desire and joy to meet with the working people, with these people that claim distinction for patriotism and culture, for creative and practical spirit, that have devoted themselves entirely to the country's socialist construction, according to the party's line and Comrade Enver Hoxha's deed. On this occasion, he went on, on behalf of the

party Central Committee and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, I greet and wish you fresh successes in this year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland.

Evaluating the proceedings of the conference, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that in general it attained the set objectives. Hence, he said, it was discussed with preoccupation and sound spirit on enhancing the role and authority of the front, the effectiveness of its educational and mobilising work, on raising the level of the overall activity of this militant organisation to the point demanded by the actual stage of the developments taking place in the country.

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke on the political role of the front organisation in the life of our society and on some actual and perspective tasks it is faced with in order to raise this role at a higher level. He dwelt especially on the dialectical relations existing and acting between the education of the working people and the results of their work in production and elsewhere. The historic experience, he pointed out, shows that the vigour of the people's education and unity, especially of the younger generation, is reflected in the daily social activity, first of all in the field of economy.

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed to the successes attained in carrying out the plans and to the high level of the mass mobilisation to see to the great November jubilee with great results. He hailed the revolutionary initiatives of the working people being spread in the context of this jubilee and the inspiring achievements of the vanguard branches of the economy, as the extracting industry, chemical, food industries, constructions, etc. Sensitive growth, he pointed out, were recorded in the foreign trade.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on some economic and social problems that should draw the attention of the party and mass organisations in the Shkoder District. This district, he said, on the Republic scale occupies the fourth place concerning the population and the third in the agricultural production, the fifth in industrial production and the first in electric energy.

It is a pleasure to see that in general the plans are realised in your district and now, on the eve on the Front Congress, the development rates are raised. For the first five months of this year as against the last year the industrial output was raised to nearly 4.5 percent, budget incomes 3.4 percent, export about 40 percent. Important increase is recorded in some main industrial products, in retail goods circulation, etc.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on the development of agriculture and its problems. Relatively good productivity, he said, is gained in the maize crop, about 55 quintals per hectare, but there exist possibilities for greater realisations because the district possesses sufficient irrigation capacities.

In his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia treated of also the question of the front role in preserving the purity of the socialist moral values and imbuing the working masses with them. These values, he said, are one of our most precious assets, a real spiritual thesaurus transmitted from generation to generation. They are revived and further enriched in the epoch of the party, and have now become a property of the broad working masses. The moral-political figure is the resultant of all the activity, knowledge, consciousness, and capabilities of the individual. Through it the example of the communist as the active and fighting patriot is realised.

Our society has created all conditions for the people, wherever they are, to live honourably and in a dignified way, by their toil. Albania is being built and progresses without stretching its hand to anybody.

Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt upon some issues of the international situation. He condemned among others the use of violence by the Yugoslav authorities towards the Albanians in Kosovo, their assassination and jailings en masse. The imposition of the state of emergency and military regime, the state terror exerted on the Albanian youngsters and intellectuals for the sole guilt of legally speaking and writing in defence of the constitutional rights, not only testify to an anti-Albanian chauvinist position, but also reflect the degeneration of the political social order in Yugoslavia. The same phenomenon, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, is happening today even in the Soviet Union and China, where the "reformed order" is expressing its repressive and anti-democratic essence through blood and the force of arms.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: Our front of the war and of the socialist labour has marched and should march on the road of victories, because it is the front created by the party with Enver Hoxha in the heat of the struggle and tempered in the new battles for the socialist construction. The party is convinced that on this year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation, the Democratic Front of Albania, its organisation in Shkoder and elsewhere in Albania will carry out a fruitful educational and mobilised work in the fold of the people, will launch the people more vigorously on the construction work to enheighten [word as received] the socialist victories.

District Economic Progress Report for 4-10 Jun
AU1006202089

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 4-10 June carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Berat District: The general industrial production plan for January-May was exceeded by 1 percent. (1800 GMT 4 Jun 89)

Gjirokaster District: The general industrial production plan for January-May was exceeded by 0.4 percent. (1800 GMT 5 Jun 89)

Librazhd District: The general industrial production plan for January-May was exceeded by 2.3 million leks. (1800 GMT 10 Jun 89)

Sarande District: The general industrial production plan for January-May was exceeded by 7 million leks. (1800 GMT 6 Jun 89)

Shkoder District: The general industrial production plan for January-May was exceeded by 12.7 million leks. (1800 GMT 9 Jun 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances Reported 3-9 Jun
AU1006123989

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 3-9 June reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary, received the Palestinian Foreign Minister Faruq Qaddumi in Tirana on 8 June (1800 GMT 8 June 89), and attended a district Democratic Front congress in Shkoder on 9 June. (1800 GMT 9 June 89)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP CC Politburo member, and Pirro Kondi and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended a district Democratic Front conference in Tirana on 9 June. (1800 GMT 9 June 89)

Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate member, attended a district Democratic Front conference in Korce on 9 June. (1800 GMT 9 June 89)

Besnik Bektashi, AWP CC Politburo member, attended the inauguration of a water utility in Tropoje on 6 June. (1800 GMT 6 June 89)

Prokop Murra, AWP CC Politburo member, attended a district Democratic Front conference in Elbasan on 9 June. (1800 GMT 9 June 89)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received Faruq Qaddumi, Palestinian foreign minister, on 7 June (1800 GMT 7 June 89), and carried out talks with him in Tirana on 9 June. (1800 GMT 9 June 89)

Continuing Support for Zhivkov Foreign Policy

Agrarian Leader Approves Policy

AU1306085789 Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME
in Bulgarian 10 Jun 89 pp 1, 4

["Own information" report: "From Positions of Dialogue and Peaceful Coexistence"]

[Excerpts] A 2-day working meeting of representatives of 15 agrarian parties, center parties, and radical, liberal, and other democratic parties and organizations from 11 states taking part in the CSCE opened in Varna on 9 June. [passage omitted]

The meeting was opened by Miko Imonen [name as transliterated], chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Finnish Center Party. [passage omitted]

The chairman then gave the floor to Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and first deputy chairman of the State Council, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation.

In the name of the Administrative Council of the [BZNS], Petur Tanchev welcomed the participants as honored guests, representatives of influential parties and organizations with which the BZNS maintains traditional friendly links. [passage omitted]

The leader of the BZNS delegation declared later that the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is totally permeated with the new thinking and behavior, fully conforms to the new realities, in the spirit of Helsinki and Vienna.

Bulgaria and State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov are making a great contribution to the peace that has reigned for 4 and 1/2 decades in the sensitive region of the Balkans, which in the past has been the starting point for many wars in Europe.

Bulgaria is constantly working for the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, and is a staunch upholder of ecological protection in the Balkans and Europe. This autumn the country will host a European forum on ecological issues.

Our country stands for good-neighborly, humanitarian, and civilized relations with all the Balkan countries.

Bulgaria's consistent and constructive policy was emphasized with new force in the statement made by the Bulgarian head of state on 29 May this year. The secretary of the BZNS spoke in detail on the statement and stressed its great importance. He pointed out that Bulgaria has adopted new laws that are in harmony with the accords reached in Vienna. According to the new legal regulations, every Bulgarian citizen is given the opportunity to travel where he wants, to any part of the world, to reside abroad, and to return to his native land.

The secretary of the BZNS stressed the appeal by the Bulgarian head of state to the Republic of Turkey to open its border to all Bulgarian Muslims who wish to make visits to Turkey or to stay there to live.

We believe, said Petur Tanchev, that the atmosphere of cooperation will dominate in the Balkans, despite the attempts made more frequently of late to undermine it and to discredit and slander Bulgaria's good name and its peace-loving policy, which enjoys well-deserved, high international prestige. [passage omitted]

Church on Zhivkov's 'Wisdom'

AU0306183589 Sofia BTA in English
1742 GMT 3 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—Our church has always taken part in the historical fate of our fatherland, reads the published declaration of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. It goes on to say that the breaking of social order at certain parts of our country as well as the manifestations of anti-Bulgarian trends and the attempts for interference of certain circles of neighbourly Turkey in the internal affairs of Bulgaria cause the bewilderment and grief of the Orthodox clergy and laymen.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church considers the Bulgarian Muslims as citizens equal in rights in our united country, the Holy Synod says. The church sees the statement of Mr Todor Zhivkov, broadcasted by the national television and radio on May 29, as a manifestation of mature political wisdom. We, the Orthodox clergy and laymen, fully agree and convincingly support the standpoint expressed by Mr Todor Zhivkov, that to be able to fulfill the highly humane deeds which we need so much and to establish ourselves as a state which is highly developed in cultural, intellectual and economic aspects, we are called to be united, the declaration reads.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church takes care to preserve the order in its church life. It cares for the unity of our people. That is why it categorically condemns all phenomena which are in complete contradiction to the canons and traditions of the holy orthodoxy, to the rules of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and the good order in our all-church organization, and are at present destroyers of the unity of our nation. That is why it brands the activity of Monarch Khristofor Subev, the declaration points out.

Further on it expresses the conviction that in the atmosphere of international understanding and cooperation in Europe and, in particular, in the Balkans, wisdom and good will will prevail in the fulfilment of the humane and peace-strengthening agreements of Helsinki and Vienna.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 3 June reports in its newscast that similar declarations have been issued by the Eparchial Council of the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Central Jewish Religious Council in Bulgaria]

Other Church Leaders Voice Support

*AU0606184489 Sofia BTA in English
1746 GMT 6 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—In declarations and telegrams addressed to the National Assembly, the National Council of the Fatherland Front and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Bulgarian public keeps expressing its unqualified support for the statement by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, broadcast on national television and radio.

On behalf of the denomination it represents, the Board of the Evangelical Pentecostal Churches associates itself with the statement of State Council President Todor Zhivkov. "We resolutely declare ourselves against any attempt from abroad, by certain circles in neighbouring Turkey, or from within the country to take advantage of religious feelings for political ends, for instigating hostility and riots and for jeopardizing public order," says the Union of the Evangelical Pentecostal Churches in its declaration.

The Roman Catholic Metropolinate in Plovdiv has also issued a declaration in support of the statement.

Further on Continuing Support

*AU1206181489 Sofia BTA in English
1725 GMT 12 Jun 89*

["Concern and Destiny for Every Bulgarian"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 12 (BTA)—Unqualified support for the statement by Mr Todor Zhivkov broadcast on national television and radio and appeals for the consolidation of the Bulgarian socialist nation are contained in the telegrams which working people from all over the country keep sending to the National Assembly, the National Council of the Fatherland Front and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Bishop Samuil Dzhundin, head of the Nikopol Catholic Diocese, voices concern over the events in some parts of Bulgaria.

"Expressing the hope that things will change for the better, we call on and pray for the well-being of our entire nation, for peaceful and creative labour in the conditions of peace in the Balkans and Europe, for the progress, strengthening and prosperity of our dear homeland Bulgaria," the bishop writes.

"At this crucial time we believers have no more important task than to help preserve the unity of the Bulgarian nation," the Catholic prelate emphasizes in his telegram.

The Apostolic Exarchate for Byzantine Catholics also takes a stand on the events taking place in some parts of the country. "The principle adopted not just by us but

also in the entire world is that religion does not determine ethnicity. Within the borders of one state there can be different religious denominations, but they all comprise together one people," the telegram reads. "We Catholics regard Bulgaria as our single homeland on earth. We have always been ready to defend her and to uphold her prestige. Muslims have been living in our homeland for generations and have been enjoying all benefits."

Recalling that "independent individuals" have been recently trying to defend the "wronged believers" through Radio Free Europe, the Exarchate formally declares that "only the Catholic Church can speak on our behalf on any matters that concern us."

Commentary Views Relations With Turkey, Muslims

*AU0806133889 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
7 Jun 89 p 4*

[Stefan Solakov commentary: "Now, It Is Ankara's Turn"]

[Text] It has long since been known that certain Ankara circles are systematically instigating part of the Bulgarian population, which for several historical reasons, is related to the Muslim religion, to emigrate to Turkey.

The appeal addressed by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the Turkish authorities urging them to open the Bulgarian-Turkish borders for those Bulgarian Muslims who are willing to leave for Turkey, is a serious challenge for them. So far, several high-ranking functionaries in Ankara, for different reasons, insisted on the mass emigration of Muslims from Bulgaria by flamboyantly declaring that they would provide homes and social security for hundreds of thousands of them. This bluff on the Turkish side guaranteed domestic political opportunities to the ruling Motherland Party, and to its leader Turgut Ozal.

On the other hand, Ankara's provocative behavior created tension among part of the Bulgarian Muslims, who had families and relatives in Turkey. Radio "Voice of Turkey" periodically urged them to emigrate from Bulgaria, promising them a prosperous life in the Turkish territory. The frequent cases of Bulgarian Muslims returning and escaping from Turkey to Bulgaria disclosed the deceptive nature of these generous promises.

Now it is Turkey's turn to make the next move: The Bulgarian appeal for open borders provides the opportunity for a new stage in Bulgarian-Turkish relations. If Ankara really wishes to be loyal to the spirit of Vienna, it should immediately relax the visa regulations for those willing to go to Turkey, instead of inventing thousands of restrictions and delays. It was evident, from the very beginning, that the Turkish leaders, for whom the policy of "double standards" is a traditional practice, would not like the new Bulgarian initiative. We already hear statements from Ankara suggesting that it is not required

to accord hospitality to Muslims from Bulgaria—provided that they should be guaranteed certain rights and freedoms in our country. A new form of hypocrisy was manifested on the Turkish side, namely, the “concern” for human rights expressed by official circles in Turkey, who are notorious all over the world as “champions” of breaking the norms of democratic behavior. Bulgaria would also like to know where the Bulgarians in Turkey have disappeared, how their rights and freedoms are guaranteed, and this applies also to the rights and freedoms of Greeks, Armenians, and Kurds....All this is in accordance with the Vienna decisions which were never published in Turkey, as a matter of fact.

Despite Ankara's efforts to create tension in Bulgarian-Turkish relations, Bulgaria continues to believe in common sense and in a civilized approach to present-day realities. Bulgaria expects its Turkish neighbors to manifest understanding and readiness for a dialogue. Not confrontation, but constructive negotiations are now required from our two neighbor countries, which until recently maintained friendly and good-neighborly relations, darkened by the enemies of Bulgarian-Turkish understanding.

Atanasov Greets Ryzhkov on Appointment

*AU0906200289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1930 GMT 9 Jun 89*

[Text] Comrade Georgi Atanasov has sent a telegram to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, conveying cordial congratulations to him on his appointment to the post by the USSR Supreme Soviet and good wishes for success in carrying out the reforms aimed at ensuring the prosperity and comprehensive advance of the Soviet people.

The telegram voices confidence that under the conditions of the further restructuring and renewal under way in both countries, Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation will develop even more fruitfully and effectively.

Atanasov Visit to Poland, Czechoslovakia Viewed

*AU1206125689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 10 Jun 89 p 5*

[Unattributed commentary: “In the Spirit of Good Traditions”]

[Text] The nature of the bilateral relations between socialist countries, the extent of the maturity and effectiveness of these relations are of great importance for the processes of renewal and restructuring that are now underway in the world of socialism. This is so because the national economies of these countries are closely interrelated and because they share common goals and interests. It is from this point of view that the importance of the friendly working visits paid by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Czechoslovakia and Poland should be evaluated.

Both visits, which took place within a few days of each other, were held at an important stage in the development of the international situation as a whole, and in Bulgaria's relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland, in particular. They proceeded in the spirit of the traditional atmosphere of understanding, unanimity of thought and sincerity which characterizes mutual relations between fraternal countries.

The meetings of the Bulgarian Government leader in Prague and Warsaw were favorable opportunities for confirming the common readiness for unity of action on all international problems in the spirit of new political thinking, for building a more just world, free of weapons, violence, and wars. It was pointed out during the talks in both fraternal capitals that the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries are aimed at the consolidation of the all-European process, at strengthening cooperation based on equal rights, mutual security and confidence. It was also stressed that bilateral relations between Bulgaria and the two aforementioned socialist countries in the economic, trade, and scientific-technical sectors are and will be most closely linked with the development of CEMA—our common organization which will contribute to the specialization and more efficient utilization of all resources available in our member countries.

Special attention was devoted during the Prague talks to the experience of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia in joint activities, in specialization and production sharing. The importance of the bilateral, long-term program on economic and scientific-technical cooperation for the period up to 2000, as well as the positive example of production sharing between the LIAZ and Madara enterprises were pointed out. It was stated on the basis of the hitherto acquired experience that it would be necessary in the future to concentrate efforts upon future-oriented technological trends and upon the establishment of joint enterprises.

The Warsaw negotiations coincided with a very important stage of development related to Poland's future, with a period in which considerable changes are taking place in this country's political institutions. Bilateral relations which are very promising for the future were positively evaluated during these talks. It was assessed that favorable conditions exist for the accelerated application of the “Concept on the Development of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the Period up to 2005.” The requirement of improving the economic mechanism for the activities of joint enterprises was emphasized and the efforts to even more expand direct, bilateral links between institutes, enterprises, and organizations of the countries was pointed out during the talks.

Special attention to the increasingly detailed exchange of information on the incipient, structural changes in the economic systems of the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

the CSSR, and the Polish People's Republic was paid both in Warsaw and Prague, and the search for nontraditional forms of economic dialogue was pointed out in particular. The difficulties that inevitably accompany a development proceeding at such an accelerated pace were not passed over in silence during the bilateral talks. A calm and objective analysis of such difficulties was made in the capitals of the two fraternal countries during Georgi Atanasov's visit, and relevant measures were mapped out for overcoming such difficulties in Bulgaria's relations with the two aforementioned states.

Having proceeded in the spirit of the traditionally good relations existing among the socialist community countries, the visits paid by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the CSSR and Poland can certainly be evaluated as an active new contribution to our common cause—the restructuring and renewal of socialism.

Stoyanov Speaks at Stamboliyski Anniversary

*AU1106181989 Sofia BTA in English
1745 GMT 11 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 11 (BTA)—Today was held a commemorative meeting-rally on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of Aleksandur Stamboliyski's birth. It was attended by the delegations to the international meeting of representatives of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations from C.S.C.E. member-states, as well as by a delegation of the Pakistan People's Party which is currently visiting this country.

In his speech Mr. Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), recalled Aleksandur Stamboliyski's views about the power of people which have outgrown the framework of the bourgeoisie parliamentarism, his work as prime minister of Bulgaria till the military fascist coup on June 9, 1923. He spoke of the international popularity of the Bulgarian agrarian leader, who died in the struggle against fascism, and as a precursor of the united front orientation of the agrarian movement.

Mr. Petur Tanchev spoke also of the durable political union between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the BZNS. In the almost 100 years history of the BCP and the 90 year history of the BZNS, for 66 years now the Communists and the BZNS members have built and consolidated their unity of action, pointed out he.

He noted that the Bulgarian Agrarian Party supports unreservedly the constructive policy of Bulgaria in the Balkans, Europe and in the world. The international activity of the BZNS has always been most closely related to this policy, to the peace strategy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community member states, to the uniting with the forces of the international democratic and agrarian movement.

Mr. Dimitar Stoyanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, read a greetings address on behalf of the CC of the BCP.

Aleksandur Stamboliyski is a telling example of political personality of implacable fighter against monarchy, convinced democrat-republican, great Bulgarian statesman, whose heroic life ended with an address to the Communists for political unity of action, for a government of workers and peasants. The Bulgarian Communists respect his work, which was crowned by the communist-agrarian fraternity, the political union of the two governing parties in close interaction with all layers of the Bulgarian people, said Mr. Dimitar Stoyanov.

Bulgaria is an example of a socialist state with a naturally developing political pluralism which has historical roots, rich traditions and has learnt a number of lessons, was said in the address of greetings. The communist-agrarian fraternity and the political interaction have never been and will never be conjuncture policy. They are a specific, Bulgarian, characteristic feature of our socialist development, deeply considered and grounded at the April (1956) Plenum of the CC of the BCP. It has been further developed during the recent years and will continue to develop along with the development and improvement of the political system, with the development of the democratic processes in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party, all the public organizations and movements, religious communities and all generations of Bulgarians support the restructuring policy of the BCP, pointed out Mr. Dimitar Stoyanov.

Noting that Aleksandur Stamboliyski is an example of a statesman with prestige and high activity at the international arena, the speaker pointed out that today the Bulgarian Agrarian Party follows this example. The BCP assesses highly the fruitful relations of the BZNS with a number of agrarian, democratic and other parties and organizations and movements from all over the world. The Bulgarian Communists and BZNS members give their contribution to the world processes, support the new political thinking and the restructuring in the USSR and the other socialist countries. Our patriotism is inseparable from our international support and adherence to the world revolutionary and innovative processes, stressed Mr. Dimitar Stoyanov.

Tanchev Speaks at Agrarian Parties' Meeting

*AU1006143189 Sofia BTA in English
1334 GMT 10 Jun 89*

[Text] Varna, June 10 (BTA)—The meeting held here is attended by representatives of 15 agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations from eleven countries—CSCE members.

The leader of the delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the party, proposed Bulgaria to host an international meeting of representatives of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations on the occasion of the forthcoming celebration of the 90th anniversary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. He reiterated the Bulgarian support to the fourth conference of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations from Europe, the USA and Canada which is envisaged to take place next year in Helsinki.

The secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party noted that the strengthening of the unity of action of the agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations is of great importance for the attraction and uniting of the democratic forces in support of the CSCE process and the other positive tendencies in the international relations after the Vienna meeting.

Europe can and must be an example of irreversibility and dynamics of the innovation in the international relations, it should become a territory of political, economic and ecological security, should turn into a common house for its 700 million inhabitants—a house where understanding and cooperation reign.

Bulgaria's foreign policy corresponds completely to the modern realities and it is in the spirit of Helsinki and Vienna, said the speaker further. The country works constantly for the idea for the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, it stands for ecological protection of the Balkans and Europe. This autumn Bulgaria will host an European forum on ecological issues.

Bulgaria stands for good-neighbour, humane and civilized relations with all Balkan states. We believe, said Mr Petur Tanchev, that the atmosphere of cooperation in the Balkans will dominate despite the attempts made recently to undermine it, to discredit and calumniate Bulgaria's good name and her peace-loving policy.

Data on Restoration of Islamic Monuments Reported
AU1206173189 Sofia BTA in English
1643 GMT 12 Jun 89

["Monuments of Islamic Worship in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 12 (BTA)—The National Cultural Monuments Institute keeps on record 96 monuments of Islamic worship: mosques, monasteries and tombs, buildings of historic, architectural and artistic value under legal protection.

Nine mosques have been declared national monuments of culture. One of them is the Bayrakli Mosque in the town of Samokov.

The several-year-long restoration of the Banya Bashi Mosque in Sofia is drawing to a close. Religious services are held there on a regular basis. The roof is being lagged with lead sheet, which is a very expensive operation. The minaret and the murals have been renovated. The architectural restoration of the Ibrahim Pasha Mosque in Razgrad cost approximately 289,000 leva, and another 150,000 leva will be invested in a restoration of the murals and the interior. The Dzhumaya Mosque in Plovdiv underwent a restoration recently. The overhaul of the Imaret Mosque in the same city consumed 255,000 leva. An intricate and costly project worth over one million leva on completion is carried out in the restoration of Tombul Mosque in the town of Shumen. Work on it will continue until 1995.

By June 1989, the state has allocated a total of 4,037,450 leva for the restoration of mosques in this country.

The National Cultural Monuments Institute is now working on restoration projects for the Ahmed Bey and Fetih Mehmed Mosques in the town of Kyustendil. Construction work will take 109,000 leva. The mural restoration is now complete at the Kurshumli Mosque in the town of Silistra.

"Even these out of many more facts are sufficient to demonstrate the view which the state takes of the Islamic religious monuments", says Mr Aleksandur Palichev, deputy director of the institute. Bulgaria is well-known in Europe for her tolerant policy towards the monuments of culture irrespective of whether they belong to the Roman, Byzantine, Bulgarian or Ottoman periods.

Latest Events in China Reviewed, Analyzed
AU1206165189 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 10 Jun 89 p 4

[Jozef Janto article: "Chronology of the Events in China; On the Situation in the Most Populous Country in the World"]

[Excerpts] The present situation in the PRC and the events of the past few weeks and days in its capital, Beijing, in particular, are among the main topics of news and commentaries in the world press and other mass media. Let us note that the news items often contradict one another and that the commentaries are often speculative and do not lack a touch of sensationalism. Many of them regard as the cause of the current situation the alleged effort by individual leading personalities of Chinese political life to direct further developments in the country according to their own ideas. From this viewpoint, the Western press divides them into so-called liberals and conservatives. [passage omitted]

To have a better idea of the present, it is essential to at least briefly reflect on the recent past of the PRC. In the first stage of economic reforms (1979-84) the Chinese economy developed very dynamically. Even since then, development has not slowed down much. However, whereas the annual volume of industrial output since 1987, for example, increased 15 percent, in some parts of the country (special economic zones) it increased more than 50 percent! Next to undeniable successes, some problems have been mounting as well, especially in the second half of the eighties. They concerned, in particular, the high rate of inflation, the deepening of abysmal income differentials, corruption, bribery, and so forth. Party and state bodies did not hide these problems and waged struggle against them at all levels. It seems, however, that they have done so without conspicuous success, which was one of the main reasons for the demonstrations of Beijing students this April. [passage omitted]

On 21 April around 100,000 people took to the streets of Beijing and Tiananmen Square in particular. In the following days, students started to boycott classes, organized marches (also in Shanghai and other cities), and later (from 13 May) hunger strikes as well. Though, as early as 30 April, representatives of the state and Beijing city administrations held talks with the students' representatives, these talks did not produce any results. In the West, they were rubbing their hands with glee that the Chinese young generation views capitalism with growing sympathies, but the truth is that the students were presenting their demands for more extensive democracy and a more resolute struggle against corruption to the sounds of the International, under symbols of the international communist and workers movement.

Later (on 18 and 19 May), Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng even met with the students for discussion. However, their appearances confirmed that in the highest party leadership there exist different opinions on how to deal with, in particular, the present critical situation. In this situation other residents also started to participate in marches and rallies (1 million people participated in a rally in Beijing on 17 May). This is why, to prevent the emerging chaos and anarchy and to restore normal life, Li Peng called for resolute measures to be taken. On 19 May the Army was summoned to Beijing and, a day later, a state of emergency was imposed in the capital.

Relative calm set in but, already on 22 May, the first barricades appeared in the streets of Beijing. Chinese sources reported that the central party leadership was continuously in session but none of its leading representatives appeared in public. [passage omitted]

It was only on 25 May that Li Peng made another appearance (on television) and called for the protection of stability and order. In the meantime, newspapers started to be published again, public transportation was renewed, shops were open, and people were going to work. Only relatively small groups of students remained on the main Beijing square, Tiananmen. The turning point came on 30 May, when some students erected on the square a 10-meter plaster statue of a woman holding a torch, which was supposedly meant to express the idea of freedom. The XINHUA news agency branded this act as exceptionally disrespectful and an affront to national dignity. Some newspapers wrote that "an acute political struggle has started, in which the future of the state and the nation are at stake." On the first day of June, workers and peasants started to demonstrate in support of the declaration of the state of emergency. Military units started to guard government and other administrative buildings, as well as the airport and the railroad station. On 3 June the Army received the order to put an end to the unrest and to restore order; the first clashes between soldiers and demonstrators occurred.

In the night of 3 June, stiffer conditions of the state of emergency were declared and, ever since then, the situation has not been perspicuous. All sorts of rumors about the number of dead and wounded are making the rounds. On Tuesday [6 June] Radio Beijing announced that the "counterrevolutionary rebellion" has not yet been suppressed and that a handful of people continues looting, setting things on fire, putting up barricades, and attacking soldiers. An Army representative simultaneously declared that the reports on alleged fighting between some Army units are not true.

It is self-evident that this situation does not benefit the economy and the entire social development in the country, which set out on the road of socialism almost 40 years ago. The Chinese people have scored enormous results in these 4 decades, especially in the economic and social spheres. They also experienced difficulties (such as the Great Leap Forward and the "Cultural Revolution"),

caused by voluntarism and by the endeavor to "accelerate" developments. It is beyond dispute that, under the leadership of the CPC, they will also overcome the present difficulties, in the interest of the further development of socialism in the country and of peace in Asia and all over the world.

Commentary Assesses Results of Polish Election

*AU1206150289 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
10 Jun 89 p 2*

[Ivan Drabek commentary: "The Results of the Parliamentary Elections in the Polish People's Republic Took Both the Losers Defeated and the Winners by Surprise; Strong Brew From 'Cafe Niespodzianka'"]

[Excerpts] "Niespodzianka" means "surprise." This is the name of the cafe in the center of Warsaw which was transformed during the election campaign into the headquarters of Solidarity's Citizens' Committee. It is here that the tactics for the final hours of the campaign were planned, and here that the first—for the opposition joyous—reports about the preliminary results of the voting were delivered. And when the State Election Commission published the final figures the day before yesterday [8 June] it could have been an opportunity in the Cafe Niespodzianka for the popping of sekt bottle corks to drown the hissing of coffee machines. The coffee at the Cafe Niespodzianka took the government coalition by surprise by its great bitterness, but it seems that the brew was equally unexpectedly sharp for the opposition.

The list of the results of the first round of the parliamentary elections is full of surprises. Hardly anyone expected that Solidarity would win 160 seats in the Sejm as early as in the first round of the election struggle, and that it would only have to fight for one deputy mandate in the second round. Should it win the election, it will have all 35 seats in the Lower Chamber of the Polish parliament in its power, which, according to the roundtable agreement, were to go to forces outside the government coalition. In the newly set up parliament Upper Chamber, to which elections were unrestricted, Solidarity is already today assured of 92 senators, and there is a fair chance that next week it will consolidate its absolute majority in the 100-strong body even further. However, the modest result of the government coalition is even more bewildering than the unexpected success of Solidarity. In the first round the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and its allies won only 5 of the possible 229 deputy mandates in the Sejm. Not a single candidate of the coalition made it to the Senate. [passage omitted]

The PZPR and its partners waged their campaign within the agreed rules of the game—by way of competition, and not confrontation. Not a single representative of the government coalition appealed to the Poles to automatically strike out from the ballot papers all of the opponent's candidates as Solidarity's activists did. Even on election day, when the agitation campaign was to cease completely, the opposition continued to canvass with

undiminished intensity. Solidarity set up its stalls directly in front of the polling stations, with its "instructors" demonstrating to voters what names were to be struck out and how. And voters, frustrated by the country's catastrophic economic situation, deteriorating standard of living, and continuing inflation, obediently struck the names out. The majority of them even struck out prominent coalition politicians who were responsible for convening the roundtable negotiations and determining the government's new economic line, which seeks to resolve the existing crisis with bold reforms. In this way the National List flopped.

It would be logical to expect that the clear victory would bring euphoria to the ranks of the opposition. Nothing like that happened, however. It is as if the Solidarity chieftains have been taken by surprise by their unexpected triumph. The burden of responsibility has come to rest on their shoulders overnight. They realize that from now on people will want to hear from them not only the constant NO, but also YES, that when they oppose something in the future, they will have to offer an alternative. Obviously precisely out of fear of this responsibility, the leaders of the opposition have been coming forward with sober attitudes recently. For example, on Thursday [8 June], at the session of the roundtable coordination commission, they agreed to the State Council of the Polish People's Republic additionally amending election rules, which should make it possible for 33 prominent politicians of the government coalition on the National List to make it to parliament after all.

Continuity of Restructuring With Past Affirmed

*AU1206134489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Jun 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "There Is No Future Without a Past"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] History does not know only cases of up-and-coming generations which fully capitalized on everything accomplished by the generations before them, but it also knows cases which show how easily one can squander and betray the results that have been accomplished if the awareness of continuity with the past and responsibility for the future are lacking.

We also know what a great toll is exacted by mistakes and errors in the guidance and management of society, by political inconsistency, by the loss of a class-based view of the surrounding world and its political struggles. It will do no harm to recall our own lessons, expressed in the "Lessons Drawn From the Crisis-Ridden Development in the Party and in Society After the 13th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress," our experiences from the struggle for the preservation of the very essence of socialism, for the defense of the work results of those who had laid the foundations for the new society, for the renewal of the basic gains of the revolution.

Today, as we translate into life the program of socioeconomic restructuring, we often hear the question of wherein lies the guarantee that we set out on a correct path, that the mistakes and errors which opened the possibility for a counterrevolutionary upheaval 20 years ago will not be repeated. This is understandable, for the process of social changes itself is bringing with it many things that are new, complex, and still untested. There are no grounds for skepticism or nihilism, let alone for defeatism. We are walking on unexplored paths, which are not free of certain risks and on which we will have to surmount many an obstacle. Such is the law of the conflict of the old with the new, of the outdated and retarding with the ascendant and progressive.

There are also honest, upright people who harbor fears concerning the fate of the prospects of socialism, concerning the further development in the country. To a certain extent, these fears stem from the fact that forces, the activity of which we encountered, in one form or another, in the years 1968-69 are becoming increasingly active in our country and elsewhere. The same as then, they pursue no other goals but retaliation for February 1948, reversal of developments back to the conditions which existed in our country before the war. However, the year 1989 is not 1968, as has already been stressed many times.

In what does our party today see the guarantee that social development will lead to socialism becoming deeper and stronger, that it will lead to the unfolding of all its potentials, to the utilization of all its merits? It sees this guarantee, first and foremost, in that it was the party itself which reached deep into the experiences of modern history, that it itself introduces the process of changes, that it is the initiator of this process, and is in the lead of it. This is one of our most important lessons from the years 1968-69.

The guarantee of our path today lies precisely in these inseparable links with the experiences of preceding generations. We proceed from the recognition that, if the socialist society is to develop in harmony with its own laws, it must constantly renew itself, that it must not permit any rigidity and any marking of time, that it must permit neither rightwing opportunism nor dogmatism. [passage omitted]

When assessing our development in the historical context, we can also arrive at a better understanding of the efforts and intentions of those who, at home or abroad, conduct unfastidious slanderous campaigns against Socialist Czechoslovakia. There really is nothing new in the "assertion" that is being foisted upon us by these "friends of the people" today, according to which there has not been anything positive on our more-than-40-year-long path of socialist development.

Our party has no intention of simplifying the path which we have travelled. There were mistakes and errors on it. The search for the causes of these mistakes and errors teaches our party of what to beware and how to set matters right.

Our party has never claimed the right to infallibility. It does not claim this even today, all the less so as many things will still have to be considered, tried, and tested in the process of further development. Besides the tested principles and methods, we will certainly seek also new ones, as not everything that was good and appropriate at another time can be transferred into our present conditions and future changes.

This course of action is in complete harmony with the experiences of the party, with its programmatic approach. History teaches us that the strength of the party has always rested in its consistent application of the principles of scientific socialism, respect for the laws of social development, guidance by the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, and a united course of action "on high" and "below." One of the basic cornerstones of this policy is also historical continuity and succession. In other words, the awareness of what the preceding generations have accomplished and on what we build and what we develop from the angle of vision of profound responsibility for the future.

Milos Jakes Speaks at Security Bodies' Aktiv
AU0806112389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
7 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Michal Podzimek, Karel Walter, and CTK: "Reinforcing Law, Order, and Discipline Everywhere; Comrades M. Jakes and A. Indra Attended an Aktiv of the Leading Staff of Security Bodies, the Prosecution, Courts, the Legal Profession, and the Arbitration Office"]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our correspondents and CTK)—A nationwide aktiv of the leading staff of security bodies, the prosecution, courts, the legal profession, and the arbitration office, held on Tuesday [6 June], discussed current tasks in coordinating the activities of these bodies with a view to reinforcing socialist lawfulness in the period of restructuring and deepening of socialist democracy.

The aktiv was opened by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee. He said that, in connection with the advancement of restructuring in our society, the role of the law and of compliance with, and reinforcement of, socialist lawfulness is growing. New legal norms corresponding to the needs of our society's development are taking shape. The law must protect the working people, citizens, and the socialist system but, at the same time, it must demand of them duties and order and discipline. Milos Jakes further stressed the necessity of increasing the legal awareness of people and their knowledge of the law. To safeguard the fulfillment of these tasks, a united course of action by all relevant bodies will be necessary.

The opening speech at the aktiv, which was attended also by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, was delivered by Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department. [passage omitted]

R. Hegenbart said that, in the light of the new tasks, it is necessary to seek further ways of strengthening and promoting socialist lawfulness, ethics, and discipline at each workplace and place of residence. [passage omitted]

In the period to come, we must not let up on the need to promptly ascertain breaches of law and hold their perpetrators accountable for them. Both preventive and corrective measures must be taken and implemented. We also must not let up on holding answerable those who disrupt the socialist system and endanger socialist property and personal security and property.

In this connection Rudolf Hegenbart recalled that we also must not stand passively by and watch the activation of forces, whose aims and political orientation lie outside the limits delineated by socialist pluralism and which are trying to force upon society the idea that social problems can be resolved only by abandoning the path of socialist construction. In our party and in the public, demands are mounting for the drawing of more effective conclusions from the nonfulfillment of set tasks in the sphere of economic policy. By the same token, both in the party ranks and among the public, voices that are critical of those who are coming out against the socialist social system prevail.

Czechoslovakia is an advanced socialist state with a rich culture of both our nations and it has nothing in common with chaos, nonadherence to principles, and attempts to disrupt peaceful building efforts. The wealth of our socialist homeland can grow solely and exclusively in our factories, fields, in scientific, educational, and cultural institutions, in the community of all social groups. The overwhelming part of our working people realizes this, which is also borne out by their endorsement of the proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of victorious February.

In another part of his speech Rudolf Hegenbart paid heed to some negative social phenomena, the most serious of which is crime. He appreciated the fact that the rise of the crime rate has been halted, that there has been a positive influence on the development of juvenile delinquency, that our society is not threatened by organized forms of crime, and that there are no criminal offenses against peace and humanity.

We cannot, however, remain indifferent in the face of the large number of prosecuted persons and criminal group activities directed mostly against property in socialist ownership but also against the property of individual citizens.

Manifestations of rude conduct, brute force, and vandalism in the streets of our cities, in schools and dormitories, during sporting events, but also in families and elsewhere are justifiably subject of criticism in the general public. Citizens are perturbed by burglaries, illegal currency dealing, the unearned income of many people, cheating of customers, and other phenomena and extraordinary events. These facts must galvanize us into action. [passage omitted] The real and substantive causes of all complexities in supplier-user relations, which systematically complicate the situation in our national economy and on the domestic market and create a bad political atmosphere, must not elude us either. [passage omitted]

In conclusion Rudolf Hegenbart stressed that the issue of socialist statehood and socialist democracy is one of the main battlefields of ideological struggle. The deepening of the legal character of the socialist state requires a purposefully coordinated activity aimed at continuously increasing respect for the law, reinforcing socialist ethics and discipline, and at protecting the socialist social and state system and socialist and personal property.

Comrade Hegenbart's speech was followed by a discussion, in which 15 comrades took the floor. Milan Cic, minister of justice of the Slovak Socialist Republic, for example, dealt with the issue of cadre work in the activity of judicial bodies in Slovakia after the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. "We are trying to make sure that people who are morally firm and well prepared politically and professionally work as judges and notaries public. In this connection it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that attacks on their activity have taken place recently, that they have become target of slanders and dangerous threats." M. Cic recommended that the new constitution morally strengthen the standing of judges and notaries public.

"A disturbing feature of the present situation is the growing aggressiveness of offenders, elements of violent conduct and behavior among some categories of young people, and cases, albeit rare, of terrorist actions," said Frantisek Kinc, CSSR minister of interior. It is also necessary to be prepared to face the fact that some "entrepreneurial characters" will profit in a parasitical way from the process of economic restructuring and that property-related and speculative criminal offenses will increase in number. Minister F. Kinc also stressed the necessity of cooperation with the media, which must become a natural part of the managerial work of office holders in the department at all levels. [passage omitted]

The last to speak in the discussion was Comrade M. Jakes.

At the outset of his speech he spoke with appreciation of the importance of the aktiv, which permitted an exchange of views and showed how to proceed further in the work of security bodies, the prosecution, courts, the legal profession, and the arbitration office. He conveyed

to the leading staff in this important field thanks for their support of the CPCZ's policy and assured them that everything conceivable will be done for the authority of these bodies to increase further, as only then will they be able to execute their work successfully.

"Your basic task is to protect our legal code, socialism, and the interests of the working people. We are implementing it in a period that is not easy, when there is an overt endeavor of some forces in Western countries, particularly in the United States, to destabilize socialism, especially in this part of the world, and create a pluralist society in the bourgeois conception. The strength of the opposition lies practically only in its links with groups in Western countries that have a sole aim—to provoke uncertainty and inspire breaches of law," he went on to say.

In another part of his speech he recalled the response to the Proclamation on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February, in which, next to expressing support for the document, citizens demand far more resolute action to safeguard order and lawfulness in our country as the basic prerequisite for peaceful and honest work. "If the activity of the bodies whose representatives met here today is to be successful," Milos Jakes continued, "then it is necessary that it is targeted not only at consequences, but at the development of broad-based prevention. Cooperation with citizens, with national committees, whose powers and responsibility are steadily growing, and with National Front organizations is necessary. These powers can only develop on the basis of good information, including information on the state of compliance with socialist lawfulness and problems in a given area. It is you who must provide this information. The main thing is, and this also was the gist of this aktiv, to ensure a coordinated course of action of the whole sphere of security and justice, without any departmental barriers, as only this can ensure success in preventing and combatting breaches of law."

In this context the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee underlined the necessity to further improve the work, tighten organization and discipline, and perfect the cadre composition of these bodies so that they are staffed with people who are loyal to socialism, competent, and resolute, people who will set an example by their conduct. All this must go hand in hand with the needs of the time and with the CPCZ's policy. Their activity must support the process of restructuring and democratization, protect everything serving socialist society, and struggle against what disrupts it.

In the conclusion of his speech Milos Jakes stressed the growing importance of the law and of lawfulness under the conditions of our society's development. He asked the participants in the aktiv to enforce in a demanding and energetic manner the consistent reinforcement of socialist lawfulness as an important prerequisite for the successful implementation of the policy of strengthening socialism by way of restructuring and democratization,

by way of the accelerated socioeconomic development of our country. "Therein lies your important contribution to preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. I wish you and your collectives much success in this endeavor."

Further on Visit by Bulgaria's Atanasov

Bulgarian Daily Notes Talks

AU0906124089

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 June on page 5 carries a 450-word report by the newspaper's correspondent Todor Koruev, dated "Prague, 7 June," on the talks held in Prague between Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec and other Czechoslovak leaders. Comparison with the referent item shows that the RABOTNICHESKO DELO report contains no additional substantive information that is not reported in the referent item, except for the following: "Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, invited CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to visit Bulgaria. The invitation was gratefully accepted."

Talks Conclude

AU0906133089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Useful Talks; Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Concludes his Friendly Working Visit; Comrade Ladislav Adamec Confers With the Bulgarian Guest on Wednesday Morning; Protocol on the Results of Negotiations Signed; Businesslike and Substantial Talks; Negotiations on All Aspects of Improving Tourist Services for Our Citizens in the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Both Premiers Address Czechoslovak and Bulgarian Journalists; After Taking Leave at Ruzyně Airport, Georgi Atanasov Departs by Air for Warsaw"]

[Text] Prague—CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec conferred in Prague on Wednesday [7 June] with Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Their talks during the 2-day negotiations have dealt with all aspects of Czechoslovak-Bulgarian cooperation. On the first day of his visit, the Bulgarian guest was also received by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], and by CSSR President Gustav Husak. After concluding their final talk, the premiers of the governments of the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria addressed Czechoslovak and Bulgarian journalists. In the afternoon of the same day Georgi Atanasov ended his friendly working visit to the CSSR and left Prague by air for Warsaw.

Ladislav Adamec and Georgi Dimitrov met for their final talk in the Hrzan Palace in Prague on Wednesday [7 June].

The two premiers agreed that the long-term agreement on the coordination of 1991-95 national economy plans would be signed by the end of April 1990. The possibilities for further developing cooperation in the automobile industry, electric engineering, and electronics will be clarified by the end of this year. By the end of the third quarter of 1989, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will submit its position on taking delivery of further nuclear reactors produced in Czechoslovakia, the problems of a noncommercial rate of exchange between the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian currencies will be assessed, and all aspects of improving tourist services for Czechoslovak citizens in the People's Republic of Bulgaria will be discussed. Both sides will appraise the possibilities and conditions for increasing the deliveries from the People's Republic of Bulgaria of fresh and processed fruit, vegetables, and other agricultural produce to the CSSR. The two premiers stated that it is necessary to be more demanding with regard to the mutual fulfillment of adopted commitments and with regard to the quality of delivered goods. The chairmen of both parts of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation were charged with the task of discussing already this year the suggestions on new forms of cooperation, and also the possibilities for implementing them under the conditions of the transition of both states to new methods of economy management.

L. Adamec and G. Dimitrov signed a protocol on these conclusions, which the two premiers adopted during their negotiations. The negotiations were also attended for the Czechoslovak side by Pavel Hrivnak and Bohumil Urban, CSSR's first deputy premiers; by Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade; and by Pavel Sadovsky, first minister of foreign affairs. The Bulgarian side was also represented by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations; and by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. Vaclav Janousek and Toncho Chakurov, ambassadors of the two countries, and other Czechoslovak and Bulgarian government officials were also present.

After the conclusion of their final talk, G. Atanasov and L. Adamec appraised the visit in their statements for the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian journalists.

Georgi Atanasov said: First of all, I would like to express on behalf of the Bulgarian government delegation our most cordial thanks for the invitation to visit the CSSR and for the ardent reception accorded to us. During our brief visit here I have met and conducted negotiations with the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and the CSSR president. My talks with Comrade Milos Jakes, and also with Comrade Gustav Husak, were conducted in the traditional atmosphere of full understanding that is typical of our two countries. We have come to the conclusion that significant changes, connected with restructuring and the renewal of our social system, are now taking place in both countries. The goals which we want to reach, and the approaches chosen by us for achieving our aims, are either identical or very close.

At this stage of the renewal of our social system we feel the need for mutual cooperation, a mutual exchange of experience, and a common course of action.

Our negotiations with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec were extremely useful; they covered all problems and aspects of our cooperation. We can say that not a single substantial issue remains to be discussed, either from the material viewpoint, or from the viewpoint of practical measures which must be adopted to make the cooperation of our two countries correspond to our current needs. Our negotiations concerned both immediate and long-term cooperation, and also certain global problems connected with the transition to new forms of collaboration, in keeping with the current state and needs of the material-technical base, the management of economy, and our road toward creating an even more effective bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the framework of CEMA.

Our talks were comprehensive, frank, and sincere, they contained both criticism and self-criticism. Our cooperation is very broad, it can be said to encompass all spheres of life, and its forms affect the everyday economic life of citizens in both countries. Our attention was focused on all these issues, on all that we have already achieved, but also failed to achieve, on all our difficulties, mistakes, and shortcomings. Although the visit was very short, I am leaving very satisfied with the course taken by our work, with the level of our negotiations and the care manifested in the talks, which were aimed at achieving positive results.

I want to note that we have also dealt with international issues. We have found that the stands of both governments, countries, and peoples are identical. Both the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR are doing all that is necessary to make the transition from confrontation to cooperation a lasting process, as lasting as the atmosphere of peace and cooperation in Europe and in the world. I want to make use of the present occasion to express cordial thanks to the Czechoslovak Government and to Comrade Adamec personally for the accorded hospitality. I wish the fraternal Czechoslovak people peace and successes, I wish the fraternal CSSR progress and upsurge.

Ladislav Adamec said: I am very glad that Comrade Atanasov, head of the Bulgarian Government, accepted my invitation to visit our country. We have briefed each other on the course of restructuring, and also spoken frankly of the difficulties and problems cropping up during its realization. These initial problems must be gradually resolved and eliminated. We have devoted great attention to economic relations, particularly because such relations with the PRB are both traditional and very good.

We have assessed issues connected with the power industry, since the Bulgarian side will be dealing with the problems of nuclear power plants. We produce reactors,

and we must reach an agreement on the scope and deadlines within which we will be providing them. We have agreed on basic issues, in the sense that maximum attention must be devoted to the quality of products and that the discipline of suppliers must be tightened. Whenever agreements are concluded, both sides must make provisions for their fulfillment. This is considered a matter of course everywhere, and must be twice as true between good friends. The engineering and chemical industries of the People's Republic of Bulgaria can offer a number of outstanding products. We have agreed that conditions must be created for enabling our sphere of economic accountability to attain speedier progress in relations of cooperation. We should also ponder why our progress is so slow in the establishment of joint enterprises and why we have so few examples of cooperation on third markets.

We have discussed in great detail the preparation of the 5-year plan. For the last 2 days the representatives of the Bulgarian and our own planning commissions have been dealing with these problems in the greatest detail. We have agreed to devote maximum attention to this issue both this year and the next, so that by the end of April 1990 this problem can be finally resolved; this would create the most rational conditions for the fulfillment of the 5-year plan. Since our people like to spend their vacations on the Black Sea coast in Bulgaria and, frankly speaking, since there is quite a lot of justified criticism about this, I have asked the premier of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to discuss these issues, too. During the last few years, interest in vacationing in Bulgaria has been dropping, and this is not good. The problems here are many, the main one being that certain services and hygienic conditions must be improved. We want our citizens to feel well during their vacation in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This is also connected with issues connected with the rate of exchange, which must be considered. We have therefore charged the two ministers of finance with the task of appraising the problems connected with the rate of exchange of Czechoslovak and Bulgarian currencies and their interrelation by the end of September, so that we can see clearly in this issue, too. Our cooperation is very good in a number of spheres, such as culture, education, scientific-technical development, physical education, etc. We will do all we can to improve these relations further, also in terms of quality.

In conclusion I want to say that, as Comrade Atanasov stressed here, this visit was a purely working visit; but it was very frank and sincere, in the way it should be between friends. We have agreed that it would be well to meet more often, and to exchange experience; because both countries are involved in a restructuring process and one can never have enough experience.

I would like to thank Comrade Atanasov for the visit and to express the wish that our cooperation will develop well and that both Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia will achieve good results.

Urbanek, Delegation Return From Cuba 11 Jun
LD1106213989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] A delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, led by Comrade Karel Urbanek, returned today from Havana where a consultative meeting of fraternal communist and workers' parties of socialist countries took place. We asked him to assess the visit.

[Urbanek] Each party reported on the present political situation in its country, about principal tasks which the party tackles, experiences from its own work, methods and forms, as well as ways to improve the quality of the party membership base—and these things are always very illuminating.

Regarding our delegation, we also spoke about ways to improve the quality of the party membership base because it was the principal topic of this consultative meeting. We rejected the formal approach designed to expand the membership base at all costs, without taking into account the quality of accepted members and candidate members of the party. We stressed the need to recruit people who can influence the quality of work where they are.

At the end of our deliberations, a communique was adopted in which we agreed on some fundamental principles. First of all, we agreed on the fact that there is need to further strengthen the party's leading role in society, that it is necessary to choose methods and forms of political leadership appropriate to each country. In this sense, what is different is that we did not adopt a certain pattern as to how all communist and workers' parties should work. Each party should choose its work methods in accordance with the achieved level of social and historical development, as well as the mentality of the nation.

Janik, Delegation Return From Visit to Iraq
LD1106092489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
0800 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation led by Jan Janik, Federal Assembly deputy chairman and chairman of the Chamber of Nations, ended its official visit to Iraq today and left by air for home.

The delegation has been having talks with that country's officials on the international political situation, bilateral relations, and further bilateral parliamentary cooperation. The talks confirmed unity or closeness of views on all the issues discussed.

Honecker Gives Interview to U.S. Journalists

AU0906111389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 8 Jun 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Erich Honecker's Interview for U.S. Journalists"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [7 June] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, granted an interview to U.S. journalists Jim Hoagland and Robert McCartney of THE WASHINGTON POST as well as Scott Sullivan and Michael Meyer of NEWSWEEK.

During the 2-hour talk at the State Council Erich Honecker answered questions on GDR domestic and foreign policy. The journalists were particularly interested in the development and further shaping of bilateral relations and the topical problems of safeguarding peace and disarmament. Erich Honecker explained the GDR's efforts in this field and particularly discussed the proposals and unilateral steps of the Warsaw Pact allies for the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe.

Answering further questions by the journalists, the general secretary explained important issues of the GDR's domestic situation. Its successful development is, first and foremost, the result of the realistic and far-sighted policy of the party and the creative work of its citizens.

Further on Interview

LD1206174189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1207 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The influential U.S. newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST and the news magazine NEWSWEEK, which has a broad international distribution, reported over the weekend and today in detail on the interview given to representatives of the two publications last week by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council.

The text of the interview is as follows:

Question: In view of the pluralistic approach to political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe, do you envisage changes or reforms of any kind for the GDR, and if so what, in order to prepare for the challenges which the next generation will face?

Answer: You can rest assured on this question. You will always find the GDR on the spot when it comes to shaping its social system more effectively. I would like to give a reminder here that for decades we have regarded the shaping of developed socialist society not only as a historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and spiritual-cultural changes, but that we also act in accordance with this. The results of this policy are obvious to everyone.

Take, for example, the great body of laws that were adopted by the supreme representative body, the People's Chamber, most of them after comprehensive discussion among the people. I would like to mention here the Civil Code, the labor law, the family law, the youth law, the law on the protection of mother and child, the laws on publicly owned and private enterprises, on local representative bodies and on cooperatives. All this, taken together with the GDR Constitution, gives an overview of the rights and duties of the citizens of our Republic and of the protection of children in particular. It was created because of our sense of responsibility towards our people, our history, our future, and it is supported by all the parties and mass organizations united in the GDR National Front.

Our efforts are always directed at finding solutions that are most appropriate to the national circumstances. This does not, however, mean that we have little regard for the experiences of the other socialist countries. On the contrary. We take a lively part in the exchange of experiences. In so doing we do well not simply to copy the other socialist countries slavishly. That is not correct even in school, and certainly not in the management of the new socialist society. Immediately after the liberation of our people from Hitler fascism by the anti-Hitler coalition and its leading force, the Soviet Union, we said that we do not intend to copy the Soviet system in Germany. We have acted in accordance with this. However, that cannot prevent us taking into account the experiences of the Soviet Union in our policies: on the contrary, we are learning from these experiences.

Of course, in implementing our social policy strategy we always bear in mind the challenges that will be faced by the next generation. That is above all the broad development of socialist democracy, that is, the even greater involvement of the whole people in social processes, particularly through the pursuit of the well-nigh revolutionary process of the unity of economic and social policy. Up to now, this course had a very stimulating effect on the social development of the GDR and created a good atmosphere for the continued political and economic upturn. It will continue to be thus in the future.

The tasks about which I have spoken are being faced today by every modern industrial state, irrespective of what the processes of change look like in detail and what names they are given. The GDR would never have become one of the most powerful industrial nations of the world if it had not always faced up to the new issues as they arose. Anyone who has followed our 40-year history carefully can find a large number of restructurings, reforms, and innovations, which cover practically all social spheres. I am thinking here for example of land reform, school reform, university reform, industrial price reform and other such things. In a few days the 9th Pedagogical Congress will be starting in Berlin. There will certainly be discussion there of all the questions arising for the further development of the GDR education system. There will surely be much that is new.

Or take the structural changes in the economy in favor of technology and science-intensive production sectors and product groups. Today we are concentrating on products from electrical engineering, electronics, and machine-tool engineering, as well as on the ever wider application of high technologies, particularly microelectronics, environmentally safe technologies, the development of chemical industry, and our ship and vehicle-building industries.

With the new form of organization, the combines, we have at our disposal a highly efficient structure for our national economy, which, in view of the considerable autonomy of the enterprises, can react to the domestic and the international market. Consideration of supply and demand has an important role to play here. We are continually working on new ways of efficiently combining science and production. Of course, this is not always easy and the most efficient solutions are not always found right away. But our policy of continuity and renewal has, for a long time now, guaranteed a yearly growth rate in our national economy of 4 percent, with a simultaneous increase in working productivity of 5-6 percent. This enables every citizen to have social security, and ensures full employment. Men and women can participate in this on an equal basis. Our country's growing economic strength is a solid foundation for a rising standard of living, a high level of education and health care. Our long-term economic strategy aims to create the necessary requirements for this. It is both open and adaptable. It is geared to our people's social interests.

The next generation, as you can see, will be able to build further, on stable foundations. The participation of over 750,000 young people in the Whitsun meeting in Berlin, and their enthusiasm, are witness to the fact that the younger generation is joyfully taking up the tasks which history has set. We are very optimistic here. Optimism, allied with a measure of realism, is our life force.

Question: The European Community has resolved to remove all internal trade barriers by 1992. In your opinion, what effects will this step have towards greater integration in Europe, and how will it affect in particular the GDR and its network of trade and human contacts with the FRG?

Answer: There will be no negative influence on the network of trade and human contacts. It should be quite the contrary. As you know, the GDR has already entered into diplomatic relations with the EC. The reason for this is that we do not in any way wish to exclude ourselves from the development which is made possible through the opening of the EC internal market in 3 years. The socialist countries, too, are trying to set up an internal market. We support these efforts in every respect, not least through our own proposals, since we believe that CEMA and the EC will continue in the future to develop new forms of cooperation between the organizations of integration in Europe. This means that there will be a change in the economic framework

stipulations, both for the importers and for the exporters, between the socialist and the nonsocialist world. This need in no way have any negative implications for the exchange relations between East and West.

If both sides handle the matter in this way, then the economic cooperation between East and West in the framework of the CSCE process will deepen with the new demands. I am not thinking only of trade relations here, but also of new cooperation relations in the area of technology and of environmental protection. This also includes, of course, implementation of the second basket of the Helsinki Final Act, whereby foreign trade is freed from all obstacles, as is the transfer of high technologies, without the inclusion of which it will be impossible to shape economic relations in the most efficient way, that is, in the interests of the European peoples.

Question: Based on the special relationship with West Germany, can you describe your priorities for the development of improved relations with other Western governments, and say what you feel is particularly necessary for an improvement in relations with the United States?

Answer: Since the founding of our Republic, we have worked for good relations between the GDR and the United States. Over the past 40 years there have been, as you know, important changes in this respect. This was most visible in my exchange of opinions with U.S. President Gerald Ford on the occasion of our participation in the CSCE conference in Helsinki in 1975. We both put our signature to the Final Act, with the determination to considerably improve our bilateral relations, too. Unfortunately, my visit to the United States, at his invitation, could not take place at that time. Nevertheless, relations between the United States and the GDR have improved in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. The fact that this has happened in spite of the diversity in the two social orders is something which I consider to be self-evident, given the fact that the GDR has diplomatic relations with 135 countries, together with a whole network of political, economic, and cultural relations.

As far as the GDR's foreign policy is concerned, there is one overwhelming priority, which is peace and security. Both of these goals can be attained only through real steps toward disarmament, and by replacing confrontation with cooperation. This calls for joint action from all countries, whichever social system they belong to and whichever values they pursue. Our relations will advance to the extent that they are determined by calculability and reason, that mistrust and tension are reduced, and that the political, socioeconomic, and territorial realities in Europe are respected.

As far as the United States is concerned, we support the development of dialogue on the state, parliamentary, and societal levels. We support the development of relations in the economic, scientific-technological, and cultural spheres. Our countries are working together in

accordance with the relevant UN conventions on the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. The GDR is already supporting the preparations for the 45th anniversary of the historic meeting of the troops of the anti-Hitler coalition near Torgau. We are always conscious that the anti-Hitler coalition, particularly the Red Army and the U.S. forces, earned great honor for liberating Europe from fascism.

If you measure what has already been achieved in relations between the GDR and the United States against the real potentials of our states, then all the opportunities have by no means been exhausted. It is necessary to give relations more continuity and predictability. We favor opening up new fields of cooperation on the basis of equal rights and a balance of interests, as well as on mutual respect for the other side. The normalization of trade relations, including the granting of most favored nation status, and a treaty basis for scientific-technological and transport relations would be important steps benefitting both sides. Of course, the GDR is prepared to talk also about other areas of cooperation with the United States. I can imagine many things of this kind. Certainly there must be ideas about this in Washington, too.

Question: Do you think that, after the decision by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to unilaterally withdraw Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, there is an opportunity to unilaterally reduce the number of soldiers in the GDR forces?

Answer: Just like its allies, the GDR has already begun to reduce its forces unilaterally and irrespective of negotiations. In all, the unilateral disarmament measures of the Warsaw Pact states involve 581,300 men, 12,751 tanks, 10,030 artillery systems, 1,010 fighter aircraft, 895 armored vehicles, and some tactical nuclear systems.

By the end of 1990, the National People's Army of the GDR will be reduced by 10,000 men. Connected with this, there is the disbandment of 6 tank regiments, the reduction of 600 tanks, which will be re-equipped for economic purposes or scrapped, the disbandment of an air squadron, and the decommissioning of 50 fighter aircraft. Expenditure on national defense will be reduced by 10 percent. With these changes, the National People's Army will be more strictly defensive in character. We hope that we can thus stimulate other European states to take comparable measures.

Finally, it is our aim to change the strength and structure of the forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in such a way that the capacity for a surprise attack and for large-scale aggressive actions is removed on both sides. This is also the aim of the proposals of the Warsaw Pact states at the Vienna negotiations, proposals which envision by 1996-97 a radical reduction of forces and arms of the Warsaw Pact and NATO to equal ceilings. To this end, each military alliance would have, for example, to reduce its forces by more than 1 million men and also

reduce its most important categories of weapons. In view of the existing asymmetries, each alliance would have to make greater reductions in those sectors in which it has superiority. So if NATO scraps 2,500 fighter aircraft, then the Warsaw pact would reduce by about 40,000 tanks, 42,000 armored battle vehicles, and 46,000 cannons and mortars.

I would also like to refer to the proposals of the GDR, the CSSR, and the People's Republic of Poland on the creation of nuclear-free and chemical weapons-free zones and zones of trust. In other words, we are concerned about the constant continuation of the disarmament process in the nuclear and the conventional sphere with the aim of liberating mankind from the danger of self-destruction, from the scourge of war.

Question: How do you assess the results of the NATO summit, particularly the compromise on the issue of short-range nuclear missiles?

Answer: The GDR regards the results of the summit as a step in the right direction. This is expressed in the proposals of U.S. President George Bush. It will take some time to analyze the resolutions and proposals in detail.

My first impression permits the conclusion that, with its commitment to arms control and disarmament measures, NATO has taken a step forward. I see George Bush's proposal on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe as a sign that NATO can no longer evade the constructive negotiation offers and the unilateral disarmament steps of the Warsaw Pact states and the pressure of public opinion. Thus, we welcome the fact that the U.S. initiative takes up the proposals of the Warsaw Pact to include aircraft, helicopters, and troop strengths in the reduction process and to destroy the systems thus reduced. This goes some way toward our desire for radical conventional disarmament. An acceleration of the Vienna negotiations on conventional arms is also totally in our interests.

The measure of this, however, will be the concrete and detailed proposals which the NATO countries bring to the negotiating table. It is a decisive criterion for the GDR that the principle of equal and undiminished security for every country in both military coalitions is guaranteed in all phases of the disarmament process. There can be no new imbalances.

I regret the fact that, in spite of verbal willingness on the part of the United States and its allies for negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, these are to be postponed indefinitely, for they are linked to the condition that an agreement be reached at the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe and that implementation of this agreement is started. Simultaneous negotiations are now necessary on the reduction of conventional arms and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

We have noted with displeasure the attempts of the NATO countries at the Brussels summit to set rules for the socialist countries for shaping their internal order and the system at their borders. This question is decided by every country, including the United States, in the framework of its national sovereignty.

In the talk with the four U.S. journalists, the GDR State Council chairman replied to further questions relating to a broad range of topics. The problems of disarmament were of particular interest throughout the interview. An important point in connection with this was that of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. "We hope that tactical nuclear weapons will gradually disappear from Europe," said Erich Honecker. "We know, of course, that this cannot happen all at once. But it would be a good thing if negotiations on this could begin in good time. It is another matter as to whether agreement can be reached immediately on the complete removal of these weapons, or whether, let us say, 10 are left on each side. Frankly, we favor the complete removal of these weapons, since nuclear weapons are extremely dangerous. If they should be used, it would mean the end of humanity. For this reason, we have a very fundamental attitude toward this. We must begin negotiations and see what progress we can make. Sometimes there can even be surprises."

There were supplementary questions on GDR-U.S. relations from U.S. journalists: Would the chairman of the GDR Council of State visit Washington if he received an invitation from President Bush? Erich Honecker's answer: "You would certainly see me in Washington, but I do not know if it will be in the foreseeable future. Of course, President Bush would also be welcome here."

Going into the topic of the U.S.-common European home, the GDR head of state said: "It was always my view that of course we do not intend to uncouple the United States from Europe. That is not only my personal point of view. We have also discussed this in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. Thus the creation of the common European home, as we are striving for it, is not directed against third states, for example, the United States or others. Naturally we are interested in the United States participating in the establishment of the common home. In fact, it is true that this home can only be constructed in this way, in view of the various ties and relations between Western Europe and the United States, and the presence of powerful troop contingents in Western Europe."

Another question from the U.S. journalists was in connection with the regime at the border to the FRG and to Berlin (West). On this, Erich Honecker stated: "We are interested in humanizing the border regime. You know that it has been years since we dismantled the minefields that not only separated the GDR and the FRG, but also at the same time formed the dividing line between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. These minefields

have fully and completely disappeared. Moreover, it is a fact that we have an arms regulation that is no different from the regulation on the use of firearms held by Western countries.

"Our border troops only use arms when there is a direct attack on their lives and limbs, and also to prevent desertions, which happen only seldomly. This change in our policy with respect to the border regime shows first that, despite certain irritations, relations between the GDR and the FRG have developed quite positively. In this connection it was added that, of course, the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the United States is also exerting a favorable influence on international relations. We think that the relics of the cold war should disappear so that citizens and states can cooperate more closely."

"I have not yet heard," Erich Honecker added, "that the border installations between the United States and Mexico have been removed. Up until 1961 the borders between the GDR and the FRG, as well as Berlin (West), were open. But it was evident that the GDR was being economically fleeced through the buying up of goods which purchasers found in the FRG. This also happened politically, so that a situation arose where we had to put a stop to the plundering of our country. Thus, seen purely from the point of view of a stable economic and social development, the setting up of the installations for border security was at that time necessary. As you asked me when there would be conditions to change this situation, here is my answer: The prerequisites would be that the causes which led to this safeguarding of the border would be eliminated. We have done a lot to guarantee that one can more easily pass through this border. We have an annual trade turnover of over M14 billion with the Federal Republic."

A question on GDR-FRG relations was added to this. "We are obliged from the lessons of history to guarantee that war shall never again emanate from German soil," Erich Honecker said. "This is a basic principle, the precepts of the development of the relations between the GDR and the FRG. We assume that the prospects for this will exist in the development of good neighbor relations."

"To pursue other goals is just, as we say, pipe dreams. In politics one has to start from the realities. And the reality is the existence of two independent German states with different social systems, which are also members of two different alliances. One cannot unite fire and water. In history there was only a greater Germany for a very short time. The Holy Roman empire of the German nation went under at the battle of Jena and Auerstaedt. And Hitler's German empire was annihilated by the blows of the anti-Hitler coalition. No one can have an interest in a state, which is difficult to control, coming into being once more in the heart of Europe."

"Recently it was still said that what was in the past would not repeat itself. But in the meantime neo-Nazis have entered the parliaments of Berlin (West) and also in the Federal Republic. This strengthens our view that it is necessary to keep our broader security installations at the required level. In 1923 Hitler engaged in a putsch in Munich with a small group of people. Ten years later Hitler was already the head of government."

The U.S. journalists also questioned the general secretary of the SED Central Committee on the events in the People's Republic of China. Erich Honecker replied: "I do not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China because such interference always has negative consequences. But I would however like to say that it was not the intention of the personalities in the party and state leadership of the People's Republic of China, who I know very well, to arrive at such a powerful confrontation. According to my own experiences I always assume that students have the task to learn and to study. At present there is horror news which obscures a clear view on the events as they are. For objective information we have all the relevant statements and information which has been published by the Chinese party and state leadership. In these statements the leadership said that for a long time it had shown great understanding to the students, but that in the meantime, however, numerous agitators have slipped into student circles."

Finally the U.S. journalists spoke once more about the internal development of the GDR. They wanted to find out what the State Council chairman sees as the reason for the standard of living achieved for the GDR workers. Erich Honecker referred to one deciding factor: "In our country the principle of work performance has been valid since the founding of the GDR. We have always spoken out against egalitarianism. This is a question on which I was already speaking at election rallies during the Weimar Republic. Even back then we stated that, if we were to come to power one day, we did not intend to sink into egalitarianism. Here we are based on Karl Marx's 'Kritik des Gothauer Programs' where he says that Socialism remuneration follows from performance, and people would not be able to live according to their needs until communism. And communism is still far away."

Summing up, Erich Honecker stated in reply to this question that the successful development of the GDR is chiefly a result of the realistic and far-sighted policies of the party and the creative work of its citizens.

Fischer Toasts Visiting Shevardnadze at Banquet
AU1306075989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 10-11 Jun 89 p 2

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer given at a banquet in honor of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Berlin on 9 June: "Close Fraternal Alliance Remains Unshakable Foundation"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Minister, dear comrades and friends:

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you all to the heart of our capital city.

You, dear Eduard Amvrosiyevich, are cordially welcomed as the representative of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and of the great Soviet people. We are linked by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, we are linked by the traditions of the revolutionary struggle for the same ideals. A friendship has grown which has become a matter of the heart in our socialist German state in implementing the legacy of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, and of all fighters for social progress, against fascism and war.

Relations With High Dynamism, Unprecedented in Intensity and Variety

The close fraternal relations with the CPSU and the USSR and the firm roots in the Warsaw Pact and in the socialist community are and remain the unshakable foundation of the GDR's policy. Shoulder to shoulder with the party and the country of Lenin, we are working for the further shaping of our trusting cooperation and for the strengthening of peace.

We are filled with great satisfaction about the fact that, in implementation of the agreements concluded between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, our relations, which are unprecedented in their intensity and variety, are developing with high dynamism.

It is of particular importance that the cooperation is concentrated on the fields of economic, scientific-technological, and social development which are decisive for the present and the future.

Dear comrades, the past months, the session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact states, and other initiatives of our states on the bilateral and multilateral levels have again given evidence of the determination for peace of socialist foreign policy.

We have affirmed that the socialist countries and their alliance will energetically continue their varied work, which has decisively initiated and promoted the positive changes in the international events. The elimination of top modern nuclear weapons as a result of the treaty between the USSR and the United States, the revitalization of the political dialogue, the progress in settling regional conflicts—all this encourages the people's confidence that it is possible to improve the international situation. Our state categorically supports the Soviet Union's course for peace.

With its predictable and constructive policy of dialogue and cooperation with all forces that are interested in peace, the socialist German state has helped with great dedication to shape the positive processes in the international arena. Located at the sensitive border line between the two social and alliance systems in the center of Europe, it is and remains a reliable ally and partner to all forces of socialism and peace.

"Today there can be nothing more important than removing the nightmare of the danger of a nuclear war from the peoples. Basically, this is the yardstick of any policy," Comrade Erich Honecker stated.

Today our alliance has a comprehensive peace program. Its central issue is freeing mankind from the danger of nuclear destruction. The disarmament process must involve all kinds of weapons and must be subject to strict control.

The peoples in the East and West place great expectations on the negotiations on conventional armed forces and further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

The proposal recently made by U.S. President Bush on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe is a long overdue first reaction to the unilateral advance moves made by the Warsaw Pact states. We have repeatedly and emphatically demonstrated our readiness to achieve tangible results in Vienna.

The proposals of our alliance at these negotiations are radical but feasible. Their implementation would reduce the mutual weapons arsenals many times, would ensure a stable balance at a lower level, and would mean an extraordinarily important step in establishing the inability to attack in Europe.

Now It Depends on the Political Will of NATO

Our state, the USSR, and the other Warsaw Pact countries have already made important unilateral advance moves in disarmament at the conventional area, which should certainly serve as an example to the NATO states. Thus, it now depends on the political intentions of our negotiation partners. Disarmament that has been laboriously achieved in one field must not be permitted to be destroyed by modernization, that is new armament, in other fields. Security is indivisible, the path towards it can be followed only by respecting the principle of equality and equal security.

We see as a priority of our policy the active participation in shaping peaceful, fruitful relations among the European states.

Thus, we are in favor of exploiting the opportunities provided by the Helsinki Final Act and strengthening and further developing the CSCE process, which is to lead to a solid peaceful "European home." However, the Final Act can develop its peace-promoting effect only if the principles of respect for state sovereignty are respected everywhere. Respecting the inviolability of the state borders and the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of another state are the first and most elementary precondition for this.

We insist on the view that respecting human rights and basic freedoms is an essential factor for peace and security. Regarding the GDR, basic human rights are a natural, tangible reality for its citizens. We do not need any instructions, especially from those states where the political and social basic freedoms and human rights are trampled upon every day.

Dear comrades: We do not hide our profound concern that to the west of our border the fascist evil spirit is again raising its head and that neo-Nazis have been made acceptable to society and the parliament. The terrible events of the most recent history demand nipping these things in the bud with determination.

In the 50th year after the unleashing of World War II, we have to emphasize: In the GDR, on socialist German soil, the lessons of the tragic events of the past have been learned. The most important legacy was realized: Only peace will ever start from this German soil, from this Berlin, the capital city of the GDR.

Dear Soviet comrades: Your visit takes place at a time when the Communists and all citizens of our Republic are worthily preparing the 40th anniversary of the founding of our socialist state with high labor feats. We approach this important anniversary—in particular since the 8th party congress—with a successful overall balance sheet.

With the view toward the 12th SED Congress, our Marxist-Leninist party, in a close relationship of trust with all working people, also faces the new challenges in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. It unerringly continues its path that is characterized by continuity and renewal. In close internationalist affinity, we observe the steadfast efforts of the Soviet people in line with the decisions of the 12th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference to fully bring to bear the advantages and motive forces inherent in socialism. We support the course of restructuring and renewal in all fields of the social life in the USSR.

Strengthening Socialism Is of Historic Importance

We are convinced that the CPSU and the Soviet people will be able to accelerate the speed of construction, to strengthen socialism, and to make it more attractive. This is of far-reaching, even historic importance not only for the Soviet Union itself, but also for the influence and attractiveness of socialism in general, and for the effectiveness of its peace policy.

We wholeheartedly wish you, dear Soviet comrades, all Communists and working people of the Soviet Union every success in implementing your important projects.

Now I ask you, dear comrades and friends, to raise your glasses with me and drink

—to our unshakable friendship and our fruitful cooperation;

—to your health, dear Eduard Amvrosiyevich, and to the health of all Soviet comrades and friends present here!

Honecker Endorses USSR Congress Initiatives

LD1206124489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1125 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR fully supports the initiatives of the "Appeal From the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to the Peoples of the World," which was adopted by the congress at its concluding session. This was stated by Erich Honecker today to Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, who handed the document to him.

The general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the State Council said that this applies to such principles as the preservation of peaceful coexistence in relations between states and peoples, the removal of nuclear weapons as a result of negotiation, which are described in the appeal as indispensable to the success of international development. The GDR is also in favor of dialogue and negotiations in place of confrontation.

Honecker Sends Condolences on Khomeyni's Death

AU0606143689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 5 Jun 89 p 1

[ND report: "State Telegram to Tehran"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Hojjat ol-Eslam Sayyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the death of Ayatollah Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

I convey to you my sincere sympathy on the death of Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni. His name will remain closely linked with the beginning of a new stage in the history of the Iranian people.

Rest assured that the GDR will continue to work for the development of fruitful relations between the two states.

Erich Honecker.

Embassy Receives Condolences

AU0806114889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 7 Jun 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [6 June] in Berlin Hamid Reza Asefi, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the GDR, accepted condolences on the death of Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni. Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the State Council; Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and justice minister, and Heinz-Dieter Winter, deputy minister of foreign affairs, conveyed the condolences for the GDR. They paid tribute to Ayatollah Khomeyni as a prominent figure, whose name will remain closely linked with the beginning of a new stage in Iran's history.

Honecker Greets Iran's Khamene'i on Election

AU0706112189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jun 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the newly elected leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

I congratulate you on your election as leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I link my wishes for successful work in your responsible function with the confidence that the relations between our states will continue to develop for our mutual benefit.

Pozsgay Addresses West Berlin European Academy
AU1306125289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 29 May 89 p 5

[Report by Jochen Winters on speech by Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay at the European Academy of Berlin: "Human Rights, Civil Liberties, Multiparty System"; date not given]

[Text] Berlin, 28 May—The director of the European Academy of Berlin, Kraetschell, had hardly dared hope that such a bold idea could become reality. He had invited the Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay, who has also been a member of his party's Politburo since last year, to deliver a festive speech on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the European Academy of Berlin. Despite all difficulties, the reform-minded politician had driven by car directly from Budapest, traveling through the GDR. The 55-year-old Pozsgay was probably more surprised at the fact that the GDR authorities allowed him to cross the borders without any problems than at the lack of official welcome during his journey through the GDR: The old gentlemen of the GDR party and state leadership have had little respect for him for quite some time.

In contrast to that, Pozsgay was greeted with a great deal of approval and applause in West Berlin. Many who listened to him considered the fact that this communist reformer had come here, without visiting East Berlin, to speak about Hungarian reforms in the shadow of the Wall and to declare his support for the cultural and political values of Europe—above all tolerance, freedom, and justice—a great historic moment. They recalled the Berlin blockade, Khrushchev's ultimatum, the erection of the Wall, and all the suffering that had been inflicted upon them by ruling Communists since the end of the war, and they could hardly believe what a ruling communist was now saying about human rights, civil liberties, a multiparty system, social pluralism, and the development of a market economy. Contrary to communist tradition, Pozsgay spoke without notes. He did not have a manuscript, and he was very plain-spoken.

Opening of Borders

The Hungarian candidly advocated the opening of borders. Hungarian citizens do not have to look for escape routes if they want to get in contact with the world. Every Hungarian can obtain the newly introduced passport for the world, and travel wherever he wants to. For this reason, the decision was made to remove barriers along Hungary's Western border. It is not the Hungarian Border Guard's task to defend the border against Hungarians, Pozsgay stated, referring to the GDR, which does not at all approve of Hungary's measures. The state minister announced a Hungarian emigration law and stated that it would, of course, be painful if a Hungarian citizen decided to emigrate, but it would not be treason but an expression of human freedom. For this reason, it must be possible for him to return to the country.

Officially, Pozsgay's visit to West Berlin was a private visit. He was invited as a "European personality" who, "more than any other figure in the sphere of journalism, culture, and politics, embodies the will to overcome outdated structures of society that divide peoples, and to convincingly work toward the materialization of the vision of the 'common European home'," the director of the academy, Kraetschell, pointed out. The political significance of Pozsgay's appearance in West Berlin, however,—increased by the talks with Mayor Momper and opposition leader Diepgen—must not be underestimated.

With its reforms and the renewal of the country, Hungary wants to "buy an admission ticket to Europe," the state minister, who is responsible for coordinating Hungary's reform policy, stressed at the European Academy of Berlin. His country wants to enter the "common European home" by way of the stage of "central Europe." This intermediate stage means a lot for Hungary in connection with the finding that the peoples living in this part of Europe, who have suffered a lot during past disputes, cannot become a united entity at once but must first expand contacts with each other and establish closer ties.

Pozsgay painted a fascinating picture of Hungarian reforms during his speech. He spoke of the search for a new identity in view of the deep crisis of a political system that has basically not yielded any results during its 40 years of existence, and has never been accepted by the people. What is needed in Hungary now is the conversion of a Stalinist dictatorship into democracy, including political pluralism, a multiparty system, and a government that is legitimized by the people. The reforms must lead to a social order that works, which allows the people to develop their own identity, and makes it possible for intellectual forces, the economy, and production finally to unfold. This was the most radical rejection of "real existing socialism" that one can imagine.

Pozsgay said that in recent European history there have been examples of dictatorial systems changing back into democratic ones. However, there is no model in history where a Stalinist-type system has been transformed into a pluralist democratic constitution in a peaceful way. Hungary is now trying to change a tyrannical Stalinist rule, which has absorbed all functions of life and has virtually taken a sacred shape, into a law-governed state with all legal guarantees for the citizens, and with functioning democratic institutions. Thus, everything that is taking place in Hungary and in other Eastern European countries is unique and unprecedented, Pozsgay said. However, the international situation—the return to a policy of detente and the fact that in the USSR and in China reform movements have gained the upper hand—are favorable for attaining the "replacement of the old model" that Hungary is aspiring.

China as Example

Pozsgay believes that the current developments in China are confirming his view that this replacement of the old model can be achieved in Hungary in a peaceful way. "The

current events in Beijing are encouraging for us, even though they may give the impression of a rebellion, and even if they appear to be chaotic, because they most consistently prove one thing, namely that a forceful solution against the desire of the people and of society is no longer possible, and can no longer be possible." Pozsgay said that he does not believe that there will be another Russian intervention in Hungary. Gorbachev is busy enough with difficulties at home and, moreover, he has clearly said the "Brezhnev Doctrine" is no longer valid.

According to Politburo member Pozsgay, the socialist experiment, which has brought about dictatorial Stalinist patterns in Eastern Europe through the degenerated exercise of power and distorted structures, is passing through a crisis everywhere. This crisis can be overcome only by changing the structures and replacing the old model. Hungary has drawn this conclusion from its own development. All attempts of bringing about reform have failed to date because the political structures have always remained the same. With regard to Western concern that Hungary is rushing its reforms and focusing too much on political changes instead of first increasing its economic output, Pozsgay said that without radical and consistent political reform there is no hope for economic development. Thus, the most important institutional changes have to be carried out first.

Pozsgay mentioned the initial steps of political reform in Hungary, the adoption of the law on association, which is to give the citizens the right to freely form coalitions, and the corporation law, which is to provide business and capital the possibility to become active in Hungary. Central to the draft of the new constitution is the respect for and the guarantee of human rights and basic liberties, as well as the strict separation of the legislative and executive powers, as well as judicial autonomy. He said that a party law was being prepared, one which will bring about a multiparty system in which differing parties will be able to engage in fair competition. There will be free elections, which might even cause a situation where the party that has been in power up to now will no longer be able to maintain its power.

In a subsequent address to members of the Berlin Press Club, Pozsgay pleaded for freedom of the press and the freedom to openly and publicly discuss socialism and its degenerated dictatorial form. The term socialism has to be reconsidered, he said and added quite frankly that he did not consider the division of his party as a disaster. There is a majority of reformers in his party and one can easily do without the conservative dogmatists. The Hungarian Politburo member does not contradict the thesis that a reformed Hungarian Communist Party would ultimately be identical to a Western-style social democratic party.

Those who listened to Pozsgay in West Berlin were asking themselves what would happen if the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] were to follow the

example of its Hungarian "fraternal party?" The SED would become a social democratic party and it might be possible to overcome the division of Germany.

Pozsgay on Political, Economic Reforms

*AU1006164589 Hamburg DIE ZEIT
in German 9 Jun 89 p 14*

[Interview with Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay by Haug von Kuenheim and Theo Sommer: "We Start Again at Point Zero"; place, date not given]

[Text] DIE ZEIT: Mr Pozsgay, as a Hungarian state minister and member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) you granted an interview to Radio Free Europe and in it stated that communism cannot be reformed. What is happening in Hungary?

Pozsgay: A reform is being carried out in Hungary; a radical change, a complete change of models. I said in the mentioned interview that the communism achieved by Stalin cannot be reformed. Our society is not motivated to carry out real actions and achievements, the profitability of the capital is slowed down, and there is neither cooperation nor solidarity among the people; instead everything has been replaced by bureaucratic coordination. This state communism cannot be reformed. It does not have any more reserves. This was what I meant in my interview.

DIE ZEIT: The old model is Stalinism. What should be the new model?

Pozsgay: We have to leave the dead end road and go back to the starting points. Our objective should be democratic socialism, while using the institutions of European political culture and Western political techniques.

DIE ZEIT: Is "democratic socialism" and social democracy the same?

Pozsgay: Considering the order of values of social democracy and European civilization, I also understand social democracy by it. However, in my opinion, democratic socialism is in the first place a negation: the negation of the arrogant missionary zeal which characterized the communist parties for a long time and with which the party exercised a strange pedagogical function and regarded the people only as educational subjects. For in this case a Jacobinic intellectual elite rules the whole society from above. Stalin's example demonstrated that this could not be continued on an intellectual basis for a long time.

DIE ZEIT: The old model was the dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand and centrally planned economy on the other. Is the new model pluralism and the market?

Pozsgay: Yes, pluralism in politics, market in the economy.

DIE ZEIT: Pluralism within the party or pluralism of the parties?

Pozsgay: The Hungarian model has the pluralism of the parties in mind. However, the Socialist Party has also achieved a kind of pluralism within its own ranks: It has already recognized the legitimacy of several platforms.

DIE ZEIT: Pluralism of the parties could mean that your party will be voted out of office in free elections.

Pozsgay: Yes, if it were to be in the minority after elections and were to be incapable of forming the government, it would be prepared for these consequences. At the same time, however, I want to make it clear that the MSZMP is certainly not striving for defeat.

DIE ZEIT: However, if you were to suffer a defeat, what about the party's leading role?

Pozsgay: We have stopped to talk about it long ago. The party is rather following the people's demands. The people have already achieved the turn, the change—it is high time for the party to follow them.

DIE ZEIT: Will the party surrender its leading role to the people?

Pozsgay: Yes. The time has come for the party to be legitimized by the people, not by the theory of its omnipotence and omniscience.

DIE ZEIT: In this case you will need a new constitution, a new parliamentary construction, and a completely new legal structure. You will start at point zero.

Pozsgay: Yes, we will start again at point zero. This is new construction, not only restructuring.

DIE ZEIT: Perestroika means restructuring in Russian.

Pozsgay: Yes, I know. Pluralism existed in Hungary until 1948. That is, our new construction is not completely without antecedents.

DIE ZEIT: The antecedents are those of bourgeois democracy.

Pozsgay: Yes, the values of bourgeois democracy which belong to the technique of freedom which I mentioned in the beginning.

DIE ZEIT: Have the last 40 years been a big mistake?

Pozsgay: Yes, it was a big mistake to adopt the Stalinist model in 1948/49, without making any distinction between Hungary and the Soviet Union. I do not mean that no values have been created in Hungary during the past 40 years, and that there were no regulations. However, if all this happens in an open, democratic system, progress is even larger and even more significant.

DIE ZEIT: Which structures of these 40 years could be saved and would be worth retaining? Which parts from the old building could be reused in the new building?

Pozsgay: To answer this question, I must go back to the pre-war period: At the turn of the year 1944/45, a revolution took place in Hungary, by which an anachronistic old structure was destroyed. The land reform resulting from it must at any rate be retained as a basic value of our system. The cooperative movement is also such a value as a form of enterprise in which individual initiative and collective thinking have jointly produced and created something. You cannot compare our cooperative system with the Soviet kolkhoz system. I would also consider the democratization of the educational system as such a value—education as a basis of new qualities and as an opportunity for all sections and all classes of society to rise to higher positions. Finally, I would also retain as a value the way of thinking that is oriented toward interests and at the same time differentiates between various interests—the way of thinking in which the various groups of society have articulated themselves since the beginning of the sixties. These are the elements from the old building that we could use for the new building. However, we must check each brick to see whether it is really suitable.

DIE ZEIT: In what stages will the new building be set up? When will you have the roofing ceremony?

Pozsgay: To begin with, the foundation walls have to be built—and that is the building of the state. I am confident that we will be able to have the roofing ceremony in June of next year.

DIE ZEIT: Would that be the first elections?

Pozsgay: Yes, they would be the framework of the whole structure, so to speak. Then the assembly work would begin, the real construction work, and the apartment would have to be furnished.

DIE ZEIT: But the apartment would be furnished very much in the taste of the owners who were elected to power, would it not?

Pozsgay: Yes.

DIE ZEIT: So you do not know today in what taste it will be furnished afterward?

Pozsgay: No, I cannot know that today. Nor would I like to dictate it, because then we would have returned to the dictatorship that we are about to abandon.

DIE ZEIT: Your party general secretary has said that the Communist Party should remain in power for another 5 years.

Pozsgay: Here our opinions differ. I accept the thesis in principle that the Communist Party, more precisely, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], should

remain in power. However, I do not think that a Polish solution involving certain quotas that are fixed for the parties in advance, is right. The party must renew itself and must reorganize itself in a way that enables it to attract the majority of votes. That should then be decided in free elections.

DIE ZEIT: Is one of the indispensable building principles the separation of the party and the state?

Pozsgay: Definitely. Otherwise, transition to a multi-party system would be impossible. In this respect, the MSZMP has already made important steps. The party's most important decision in my view was to abolish the nomenklatura, the list of posts held by the party.

DIE ZEIT: Will a second building principle be the separation of the party and the economy?

Pozsgay: Yes.

DIE ZEIT: Now you must implement your political reform amid a serious economic crisis. Some people in your country say that political change will in the end lead into a dead end, unless it is accompanied by economic change. A critic says that "political change without economic change only gives us the freedom to criticize what we cannot change."

Pozsgay: That is an entirely wrong approach. The basic question much rather is how to free the economy of the chains of extra-economic constraints. In Hungary we do not have a transition from a dictatorship to democracy, as was the case in Greece and Spain where there was a real and functioning market economy even during the years of dictatorship, during the years of suppression.

Some people are now calling for economic reform first; what kind of an economy is this in which they desire this reform? The essence of the Stalinist structure consists in the fact that there is no real economy, no real market, and no real money. Politics swallows all walks of life, including the economy. It makes property an abstraction of the state and abolishes it. Competition ceases to exist, there are no competitors. What remains is a distribution system, which leaves everyone jealous. Thus, the civil society is practically abolished, citizens are turned into subjects and are classified into a mutually dependent hierarchy. The necessary cooperation among producers is thus eliminated and replaced by bureaucratic coordination. Where then is the element that can be reformed in this economy and can be developed in parallel with political reform?

That is precisely why our chronology is the only correct approach: At first we must free the entire structure from their political chains, the political handcuffs.

DIE ZEIT: There is an undisputed connection between political reform and economic reform. In Moscow there are political reforms, there is glasnost. However, so far,

this reform has not considerably paid off for the citizens economically. Conversely, the Chinese have first liberalized their economy, but have changed nothing about the political mechanisms. Now the boiler has exploded, and they have once again brutally suppressed the aspirations for freedom. How can these different dangers be avoided?

Pozsgay: We have tried it all. However, in Hungary a certain communication between the power and the people, between the power and the society has never entirely broken off, not even during the darkest years. Therefore, I hope that we will be able to discuss with the people in a businesslike way that such a transition also has its price. It will not be possible without sacrifices. However, since the people must pay the price, they must at least have the freedom to decide to whom they are going to pay. Certainly not to the existing clique; then the matter would change into open revolt.

DIE ZEIT: This means that you are promising the people a long haul for the time being.

Pozsgay: Yes, 2 or 3 lean years. However, the people would not accept this from everybody. Therefore, we must pursue an open policy, and therefore, we need authentic politicians in the leadership.

DIE ZEIT: That means practically that you must abolish subsidies to restore the financial soundness of the state budget.

Pozsgay: Yes, the subsidies must be abolished; they must at least be cut back considerably.

DIE ZEIT: When subsidies are abolished the real income decreases, prices rise, and unemployment probably also rises. Do you believe that the people will support the reform nevertheless?

Pozsgay: Yes, that is what we believe. However, it is clear that in an articulate society with open structures you can find various conditions to come to an arrangement with the various groups. For instance, I do not believe that it is necessary to generally announce to all social groups now that they must tighten their belts. In the next phase, there must already be certain groups who profit from the development. So, the people who actively contribute to innovation in the entire economy must already feel a favorable development in their standard of living. Those who participate in or help set up small or medium-size enterprises by investing their own capital, must also profit. Generally, we must promote the development of medium-size enterprises.

On the other hand, we must put up a very closely knit and well considered social network to protect those social groups and sectors that are now in danger of falling. They include primarily the old people who have become increasingly poor. But they also include the very young people who are starting their careers and who must be well educated and well trained in order to have

an opportunity for financial improvement. Unemployment will certainly be structural unemployment, because qualified labor is still much in demand.

DIE ZEIT: Do you see the danger of a counterreform?

Pozsgay: In principle, this would be possible. However, under the current conditions on Hungarian soil the triumph of counterreform is impossible for many reasons.

DIE ZEIT: Thirty-three years ago the counterreform was brought to your country by Soviet tanks. What limits do you see imposed on you by the membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA? In April PRAVDA plainly warned the Hungarian party against abolishing socialism.

Pozsgay: Basic changes have taken place in Europe and also within the socialist countries since 1956 and 1968. The most important new factor is, without doubt, the course of glasnost and perestroika and the attitude and views of the leadership around Gorbachev in general. I am convinced that they are leaders who know exactly that Hungary does not want to abolish socialism—unless one equates socialism with the constant shortages and lack of goods, with unmotivated, inefficient activities, with a decline of economic growth. However, if one does not equate socialism with mass poverty and lack of freedom, one need not fear anything. We want to get rid only of these things.

Of course, in such a situation there are also certain foreign policy traditions that have to be taken into account. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that a general process of detente has started all over the world. Europe is still an explosive place. For the Soviet Union the countries here that are its best friends and best neighbors are the ones that build their own development in a sovereign way and in line with their own ideas.

There are two thresholds that the Hungarian reform must not cross: First, Hungary must not come to a state of civil war, because this would endanger and destabilize the entire European area. Second, Hungary must not take unilateral initiatives so as not to disturb the European balance and the alliance systems.

DIE ZEIT: Thus no withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact as in 1956?

Pozsgay: No.

DIE ZEIT: Unless the alliances dissolve in the course of the general development?

Pozsgay: I hope that this development will take place. There are certainly good chances that the development will proceed in this direction.

DIE ZEIT: If you look ahead to the year 2000—what will Hungary be like in 11 years?

Pozsgay: Even though I always speak my mind frankly, I would prefer to be very careful regarding this question. However, I can certainly imagine that Hungary will be a democratic constitutional state, which uses its democratic rights and opportunities in a sovereign way; that it will be able to solve its economic problems with the active participation of foreign capital, but in a sovereign way; that until then it will have embarked upon a solid, irreversible course of growth; and that it will be a society that already suffers from the difficulties of freedom instead of from the malice of dictatorship; and, not least, I think that the people will prove their ability to rule themselves.

DIE ZEIT: How should the West, how should we in the FRG, help so that the reform process, which we wish success, is indeed successful?

Pozsgay: From the political viewpoint you could help us by continuously keeping the Hungarian reforms in the minds of the public. Europe has to know that Hungary has accepted a role that goes far beyond its geographic size. Because if the Hungarian experiment succeeds, this will provide new opportunities for the entire European system.

From the economic point of view, we need not so much financial aid but investments by enterprises in three fields of the national economy:

The first field is the contribution of active Western capital into existing large enterprises and turning them into joint ventures or other forms of enterprises. In this case, the state accepts guarantees that the invested capital can be withdrawn at any time and that the profits can be transferred in freely convertible currencies.

Second, we need loans to establish a strong and efficient stratum of small and medium-sized enterprises—with the strict regulation that these loans must not be used to fill in financial gaps in the state budget or to repay debts. Crisis management and servicing of debts should be the business of the National Bank.

The third field involves preparations to make the forint convertible.

DIE ZEIT: What will Europe be like in the year 2000—all of Europe? Will the Wall or the Iron Curtain still exist? Will there be a German problem? Will there be an East Bloc?

Pozsgay: To begin with the latter aspect: I do not think that there will be an East Bloc in the year 2000. I believe that a united Europe will be reality by the turn of the millennium. I could imagine that Hungary will be an associated EC member. I fully share the vision of a "common European home." There will be no Iron Curtain, neither on the Hungarian nor on the Czechoslovak border with the West. As you see, I am approaching the German problem very slowly and very vaguely. I must say that I do not know what will happen until the turn of the millennium. But I know what I would wish. I would

wish that the Wall did not exist any more by that time. I would wish that the people of the two German states could freely communicate with each other.

DIE ZEIT: In Budapest by the year 2000, will there be an Imre Nagy street or a square carrying the name of the prime minister who was executed in 1958?

Pozsgay: Definitely

DIE ZEIT: Maybe even this year?

Pozsgay: I do not know. However, there is every indication that in addition to the juridical rehabilitation, the political rehabilitation is inevitable. I personally think that a judicial murder was committed in the case of Imre Nagy.

DIE ZEIT: Hungary is the first socialist state to start tearing down the Iron Curtain. Now the work has been suspended for lack of money. Is this typical of the situation in your country?

Pozsgay: Yes, absolutely typical. In order to solve this problem, which is really only a financial problem, I would have no objection if some good Western businessmen were ready to dismantle the Iron Curtain on their own account. In that case they could sell individual parts as souvenirs—like relics from Christ's cross.

DIE ZEIT: Formerly, after a monarch's death people used to say: "The king is dead, long live the king!" Could your position be reduced to the formula: "Socialism is dead, long live socialism"?

Pozsgay: With a minor modification: Stalinism is dead, long live socialism!

Soviet Military Unit Departs Szombathely 12 Jun
LD1206164289 Budapest MTI in English
1459 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 12 (MTI)—There was a farewell ceremony to mark the departure of a Soviet military unit stationed at Szombathely, a town in western Hungary, on Monday.

Tibor Elek, chairman of the town council, said, 'the pulling out of Soviet troops from a 100 km stretch of the western frontiers of Hungary is of historic importance.' Then he presented the commander of the Soviet unit with various souvenirs, including a pocket-size model of the liberation monument in Szombathely.

Major Sergey Petrov, political deputy of the commander of the unit, told MTI that the Mechanized Infantry Regiment, which has been stationed in Szombathely since 1958, is not to leave the country for the time being. They are to move to Debrecen. The withdrawal is to be completed by June 23. The living quarters and 230 service flats will be given over to the Hungarian People's Army.

Joint Committee With ROK Reviews Economic Ties
AU1206121289 Budapest MTI in English
1847 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 7 (MTI)—The session of the Hungarian-South Korean Joint Committee ended on Wednesday with the signing of a protocol. In the course of talks Zoltan Gombocz, secretary of state at the Ministry of Trade, and Yi Tong-ho, South Korean deputy minister of Finance, the co-chairmen of the Committee, reviewed the commercial and economic relations set up between the two countries to date, the interstate agreements, and the opportunities of economic cooperation.

Relations between the two countries show a dynamic development, as was reported at a press conference held following the signing ceremony. The trade and economic cooperation agreement has been in force since February 1, 1989, which can be clearly seen also in the development of trade: In the first four months of the year, Hungarian companies exported to South Korea in a value of 3.5 million dollars, imports from there were valued at 6.4 million dollars. Exports in the first four months are almost three-times higher than in 1983, imports 60-times more.

The Joint Committee session also discussed the assembly of cars, production of television picture tubes, and the building of hotels in Hungary, in joint venture form. Two South Korean banks are to open branch offices in Budapest in the course of the year.

Israeli Economic Delegation Visits, Holds Talks
TA1106115589 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew
1100 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] Members of the Israeli economic delegation visiting Hungary made dozens of deals with their Hungarian colleagues. The delegates held hundreds [as heard] of meetings with government officials and with Hungarian businessmen. Our correspondent Gadi Sukenik reports that tomorrow the delegation will leave for Poland.

[Sudenik] Two of the delegation heads—Dani Gillerman, Chambers of Commerce president, and Moshe Zanbar, chairman of the Bank Leumi board of directors—participated in a large economic convention in Moscow, where they conversed with senior members of the Soviet financial establishment. The two also took messages to the Soviets from Israeli Government elements.

Jaruzelski Praises Walesa on French Television
LD1206230189 Warsaw PAP in English
2235 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 12—The first programme of the French Television TFI aired in its prime time evening news bulletin today an interview granted by Wojciech Jaruzelski to the programme's correspondents.

While discussing the first round of elections to the Sejm and Senate, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that he had, in fact, expected that the returns would be more favourable for the government side but still the risk was calculated as he believed that the agreement reached at the "round table" guaranteed the creation of such a political alignment which would ensure harmonious development of Poland towards pluralistic democracy.

"I believe that the development of the situation in Poland will strengthen and consolidate such a form of democracy which may lead to new political alignments which are completely unknown today," Jaruzelski said.

In the further part of his interview, when asked about Lech Walesa, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that Walesa had become a mature politician and that having inborn abilities and the sense of responsibility he deserved the respect he was shown. "I count very (?much) on fruitful cooperation with him," Jaruzelski said.

Jaruzelski Discusses Visits to UK, Belgium
LD1206174889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] Before leaving Great Britain, Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, gave an interview to journalists connected with his visits to Belgium and Great Britain.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] General, sir, how do you assess this short working visit?

[Jaruzelski] They were interesting, very substantive, fruitful, and I add, very hard working.

[Correspondent] Some journalists are already saying that it was an exceptional visit.

[Jaruzelski] I would rather say that it was both an ordinary and an extraordinary one. Ordinary because our contacts already have their roots, above all Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland in November last year and the numerous contacts and working talks, which led to this visit. In that sense it was something natural. But its being exceptional is to be found in the fact that a new, higher level of mutual understanding has been achieved, and, I think, one could define it in the sense of changes in the approach to economic relations. By such a definition, the ice has been broken.

[Correspondent] General, sir. How do the people you spoke with view Poland?

[Jaruzelski] They see Poland above all within the degree of its significance in Europe, but they see it today, perhaps, as a particularly interesting country, in which unusually interesting transformations are being made, aimed at our nation in a more harmonious manner being able to solve its problems, solve them within the context of these broad and fundamental changes which are being carried out in the whole socialist system, and in which transformations Poland fulfills a very important and at times quite simply vanguard-type role. That is why I also think that our partners perceive in us that kind of partner who guarantees credibility in this cooperation, its stability, and profit for both sides.

[Correspondent] In a more specific sense—for example, your talks with EEC Commission Chairman Jaques Delors—do you feel after these talks that we are nearer to the Common Market? We are very much counting on it that that will be so.

[Jaruzelski] Decidedly yes. These were talks which undoubtedly brought us closer to deeper and more fruitful cooperation.

[Correspondent] You also held long talks with Belgian Premier Martens. Do you think that Belgium is now going to be a partner on whom we could count in our, let's say, relations with the West?

[Jaruzelski] Yes. The talks with Premier Martens were also extremely useful. Anyway, they formed a kind of continuation of our meeting in Warsaw. I think that Belgium is able to affect positively the direction, or rather the speeding up of Poland's cooperation in the area of Western Europe and with the EEC. And while we are on the subject of Belgium, I would like to add that we had a very interesting and friendly conversation with the Belgian king.

[Second correspondent] Consequently, are you satisfied prior to your return home?

[Jaruzelski] Indeed, I return with a large dose of optimism, but at the same time convinced that everything depends on us, that our partners' attitude to Poland will always be a function of what we do ourselves, to what extent we can ensure peace, to what extent we can ensure a harmonious solution of our own Polish problems. [end recording]

Jaruzelski Speaks at Brussels Foreign Institute
LD1206193689 Warsaw PAP in English
1739 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 12—As we have already reported, Wojciech Jaruzelski's lecture delivered at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Brussels on June 9 became one of the highlights of his visit to Belgium. Excerpts:

The first round of parliamentary elections which were held last Sunday have pictured a new political map in my country.

It is not important at that whether the Polish United Workers Party or her coalition partners foresaw this or that quantitative result of these elections. What is important is that at our own will, fully aware of the complex situation, we decided to take the electoral risk, at the same time ensuring the continuity and stability of state structures.

Allow me to take the liberty to recall that in the autumn of 1981, I officially forwarded a proposal of setting up a Council of National Agreement. In reality it did not differ much from what we presented last year as the idea of the "round table." Unfortunately, the proposal was at that time factually rejected. If therefore one sometimes hears about "eight wasted years," one should not put the blame on the authorities.

The current political and economic landscape of Poland has been shaped in several successive stages.

The first stage, between 1980-1981, consists of attempts to overcome chaos and at the same time prepare deep reforms. The warranted protest of workers in the summer of 1980 laid bare the weaknesses of the then system but in a very short time dramatically whipped up expectations and demands which were impossible to meet.

The second stage is the need to undertake legal special measures to prevent a national catastrophe and at the same time save the line of reforms. Barely 18 days after the introduction of martial law, laws took effect which were aimed at deep reorganization of the country's economic life.

The third stage is the period between 1982-1987. It is a fact that the tempo of transformations was insufficient. What bore tangible impact on this on the one hand were the West's economic restrictions which were extremely painful for Poland, on the other: Opposition and demands of social nature. Last but not least, not all of the (?structure) of power was enthusiastic about deep reforms.

The fourth stage began last year. We are witnessing a radicalization of processes characteristic of it precisely today.

We make no secret of the fact that in protecting the identity of the political system we want to make use of the positive experience of the West. It is purposeful to adopt or outright build in some solutions to our system. This is a complicated and in its nature long-term process.

The Second World War today is a distant chapter of history for a majority of Europeans, one known of to a different extent. It is a paradox that a military-political situation still prevails in Europe which depending on the

point of view can be described as pre-conflict or conflict-generating. One of the reasons is the maintenance of military structures based on the assumption that war in Europe is realistic.

The historical situation has however undergone far-reaching transformations.

We welcomed with relief and hope the Soviet-American agreement on eliminating medium-range missiles as well as the promising prospects of progress in negotiations on reducing strategic nuclear weapons. The bold, far-sighted outright unprecedented initiatives of Mikhail Gorbachev, decisions about reductions in armed forces, pursued in an unilateral procedure by socialist countries, ever more realistic chances of agreement in the Vienna talks—these are all a good harbinger, a good forecast.

The recent proposals of the U.S. President are also interesting.

We have paid too great a price for our independent statehood and inviolability of our borders to intend, irrespectively of the internal and external transformations—to replace allied, treaty guarantees with verbal assurances about sympathy for our country. Even if we not infrequently are considered incurable romantics—not without reason by the way—we nonetheless—I can assure—are and will remain tough realists in this matter.

Nevertheless, the changes in the European situation taking place at present or those which can be rationally foreseen have enabled us to carry out at the end of last year a reassessment of the premises of our national security. We are cutting the manpower of our armed forces and are restructuring it in a direction convergent to the modification of the defence doctrine by the Warsaw Treaty.

Our Polish proposal envisaging a commonly agreed and freely controlled reduction of armaments of particularly offensive traits for a vast territory of Central Europe from Denmark to Hungary has been known of for three years now.

Were I to characterize most concisely the basic provisions of our defence doctrine to this gathering, I could summarize it in several short points:

- Building of confidence, based both on political premises as well as a bilaterally trustworthy system of control.
- Demilitarization and de-ideologization of inter-state relations.
- Respect of the principles of the inviolability of European borders.

I consciously leave aside the extremely important issue of economic cooperation.

Of course we do seek credits—as every other country in world, not excluding some countries richer than Poland. Of course we would like to bring about full normalization of economic relations between Poland and its Western partners in a most expeditious and mutually advantageous manner. At the same time we are not counting on anyone's charity.

I can openly state that had recurrences of the cold war not taken place at the beginning of the eighties, also we would most probably have been significantly more ahead in the process of reforms today. This is because the cold war is taking place not only on the military and propaganda plane but also the economic one.

Rakowski Refuses To Run in Second Election

LD1206184389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] PAP has issued a statement by Mieczyslaw Rakowski that he will not be a candidate in the supplementary elections, despite the fact that many politicians and many ordinary people from the government side, the opposition, and Catholic circles, he stated, were trying to persuade him to be a candidate. At the same time, Mieczyslaw Rakowski declares that he will not leave public life. On the contrary, he says: I will serve my nation to the best of my ability, in posts that my party and the constitutional state authorities will be willing to entrust me with, and that I consider it possible to hold. Also, among the opposition and in Catholic circles a number of prominent celebrities remain active in public life without being members of the parliament in this term of office.

I am concerned about reforms, Premier Rakowski stated, which will be in danger if the roundtable undertakings are not upheld. I am pleased that this concern is also shared by the leadership of the Solidarity opposition camp. I am sure that the putting forward by my party and other allied groups of new candidates for the supplementary elections on 18 June, who are, however, fully committed to accord and reforms, will contribute to averting these dangers. I have full confidence in them. I believe that the electorate, and particularly those who voted for me, will give their support also to them, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated.

Rakowski Interviewed on Election Results

LD1206224689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 12 Jun 89

[From the "Panorama" program; Rakowski speaks in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] Following the heavy election defeat of the Polish Government and the ruling party, a new social and political situation has come about in Poland. At present no single political power can lead the country out

of the worrying political and economic crisis. The government and the opposition are seeking a way out of this stalemate amid political paralysis and confusion. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] It is just possible that in the end that the 48 percent of the vote received by Prime Minister Rakowski is not such a poor result. Many East European leaders could expect significantly less than this.

To hold elections this way was the idea of the government, the political leadership [words indistinct]. Is it possible that you misjudged the situation, the mood?

[Rakowski] I do not think of this as if we scored a goal on ourselves. I believe that at some point we had to come to this kind of elections and it is good that they took place now. It is possible that if they were held in 6 months or a year the situation would have been even more complex. Poland is living in a period of economic reform; everything taking place in the economy has an enormous effect on the people. Of course, the fact is my party participated in the elections as a force that accepted responsibility for all the things that had taken place in recent decades—for the mistakes, the crimes committed in the name of socialism, for Stalinism, and so on.

Were we to postpone the elections to a later stage these grievances would have accumulated even further. On the other hand also, one can never know—and particularly not these days—as to what will happen with the socialist community, in one or the other socialist country in 6 months, or in a year. Thus, the date we have chosen was a favorable one, despite the fact that the elections have brought such results. I can put it this way too; this political confrontation had to take place sooner or later in Poland.

[Correspondent] This election result means that Polish society has rejected the totalitarian system and the dictatorial method of exercising power. The election result means for the opposition that it has gained a new type of legitimacy while for Poland it means that nothing will be what has been. However, the situation demands from everybody great responsibility and power of perception. Poland is on the path to democracy; what is important is that it should get to democracy and not to shooting as happened in Beijing. [passage omitted]

[Rakowski] In my view it was not only the Rakowski government, which had been in office for a short time, which suffered defeat in the elections. I believe that the election results do not reflect real power relations but the social mood. This was the first time that the electors could choose between the opposition and the ruling coalition and this induced a large proportion of them to draw a line through us. [passage omitted]

We are not yet at the stage of talking about the division of power. Today everything is in motion thus I cannot make a statement about the way in which power will later be divided.

[Correspondent] But do you speak about it in the debates?

[Rakowski] No. Presently the subject of debate is why did the election results turn out the way they did. It would be premature to speak about other things. All sides are analyzing what they achieved; the opposition—which has achieved an indisputable success—and the party as well—which has undoubtedly failed. Still, it is impossible to talk calmly in the middle of a race; for one is catching one's breath in such a situation. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You had said prior to the elections that should you not win the confidence of the electors you will draw the appropriate conclusions. What do you want to do now?

[Rakowski] I will draw the conclusions, but as to what kind of conclusions that is still my business. For conclusions can be of a different kind.

[Correspondent] Yes, but....

[Rakowski] There is no reply such as you hope for to this question.

[Correspondent] I do not hope for anything, I only ask—and it is not only I. Have you not decided yet?

[Rakowski] On the contrary, there is a decision.

[Correspondent] And can you tell?

[Rakowski] Yes, to continue fighting. So that the party and the government should regain their influence.

[Correspondent] And you, personally....

[Rakowski] I am a member of the party.

[Correspondent] I understand. Perhaps, you could talk about the past and the elections.

[Rakowski] You would have wanted to hear from me the answer that the drawing of conclusions means that I resign. Is that true? As a party member I have no intention to give up achieving objectives set by my own party. That's all. If you expected a different answer then you made a mistake.

[Correspondent] No. Thank you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Solidarity Spokesman Rebuts Urban Remarks
LD1206173989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1605 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Statement by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, NSZZ Solidarity press spokesman:

On 11 June this year Jerzy Urban, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, declared that during the roundtable meetings it was agreed that the newly-established office of president of the Polish People's Republic would be taken by a Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] member, namely General Wojciech Jaruzelski. I would like to state that this is not true. The roundtable agreement was completely open and neither its main text, published by the entire press, nor the annexes concerning particular issues, published in book form, contain an entry to that effect. The roundtable only established the numerical ratio in the Sejm, on the basis of which the ruling coalition has a guaranteed majority. It seems obvious that a majority constituted in this manner in its parliamentary activity must take into consideration the will of the Polish public as expressed on 4 June. The decisions on how Solidarity deputies and senators will act during the election of the president will be made by themselves when they take up their posts, in accordance with the law and the will of the voters expressed during election meetings. I fail to understand the purpose of Minister Jerzy Urban's provocative statement which is contrary to the facts.

[Signed] Janusz Onyszkiewicz, NSZZ Solidarity press spokesman

Electoral Law Amended To Allow Second Ballot
LD1206181289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] A meeting of the State Council has taken place at Belweder. A constitutional-legal problem has arisen in connection with the 33 candidates which were being elected from the national electoral list not receiving the required number of votes, since the Sejm electoral law makes no provision for repeat balloting for this list. The inability to fill the 33 deputies seats would have led to a violation of the ratio of political forces in the Sejm adopted in the roundtable agreement. In consideration of the above reasons and the position expressed on 8 June by the Roundtable Coordinating Commission, the State Council has issued a decree amending the act entitled Electoral Law for the 10th Sejm of the Polish People's Republic for 1989-93. The amended regulations provide that in the event not all seats of the national electoral list are filled, the number of constituency seats is increased in repeat balloting by the number of seats not filled from the national list. On 18 June, each of these seats will be contested by two new candidates submitted by the supreme authority bodies of the organizations which had submitted the national list. Those

candidates for the seat who gain the largest number of votes shall be elected. Consequently, for the repeat balloting, the national list has been abolished.

The State Council adopted a resolution on repeat balloting on the seats not filled from the national electoral list. The resolution nominates 33 constituencies in which the number of seats has been increased, as well as assigning the seat numbers and their allocation.

That was a statement issued after today's session of the State Council.

Electoral Commission Member on Sejm, Senate Vote
LD1206213189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Renewed voting to the Sejm and Senate will only be carried out in those electoral districts in which not all the mandates were filled on 4 June, Marek Wisniewski, member of the State Electoral Commission, has said. He also said that repeat elections would not be held abroad or on Polish ships. Only those electors who had the right to vote on 4 June are entitled to vote in the repeat elections. [passage omitted]

Pre-Election PZPR Voivodship Plenums Noted

***Lodz: Sejm Candidates Selected**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Apr-1 May 89 p 6

[Article by Jan Kraszewski: "Lodz: Before the Elections"]

[Text] The proceedings of the Lodz plenum held on 28 April were a working meeting; they were devoted to preparations for the Sejm and the Senate election campaigns.

Secretary of the Lodz [PZPR] Committee Elzbieta Wojcikowska-Ociepa reviewed the most important principles of the new electoral law, emphasizing their importance in the pre-election struggle. Hence exceptional care is taken to ensure the superior moral and intellectual traits of the candidates.

In Lodz Province, 13 mandates to the Sejm are envisaged in four election districts (five for the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party], one for the ZSL [United Peasant Party], one for the SD [Democratic Party], and six for non-party members), and two senate mandates. It was resolved that the PZPR would nominate one candidate per senator seat, and two candidates per one Sejm deputy seat. This restriction is aimed at selecting deputies in the very first round of voting.

The plenum endorsed two candidate senators and 14 candidate deputies following consultations with basic-level party echelons. These candidacies will be presented

for a new round of consultations to the basic party organizations; therefore, they can be changed. The final ticket will be established before 10 May.

The proceedings were chaired by First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Jozef Niewiadomski.

***Suwalki: Focus on Competence**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Apr-1 May 89 p 6

[Article by Alicja Zagorska: "Suwalki: Let Us Elect Intelligent and Competent People"]

[Text] Yesterday (28 April), members of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Suwalki gathered at a field plenary session in Olecko in order to outline the tasks of the organization in the election campaign for the Sejm and the Senate and discuss the premises for changing the structures of the provincial committee.

The election campaign is already under way. Party and non-party members were nominated candidates to the Sejm and the Senate. The intelligence and competency of the future candidates were the basic criterion for selection.

In early May, conventions of delegates to the basic-level conferences will be held in nine ROPP's [Regional Centers for Party Work], at which the profiles of all party candidates will be presented, regardless of who nominated them. On 8 May, a group of candidate deputies and senators will be nominated at a plenary session by a secret ballot; it will be given resolute support by the Suwalki organization.

Waldemar Berdya, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Suwalki, chaired the proceedings.

***Gdansk: Antinuclear Demonstrators**

26000499 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
6-7 May 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Negotiations With Demonstrating Ecologists"]

[Text] On 5 May, yet another ecological manifestation against the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, organized by youth groups, was held in Gdansk. Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee Prof Mieczyslaw Kochanowski invited representatives of these groups for negotiations.

A group of 40 persons representing alternative movements of young people, legal and not legalized, took part in the discussion: the NZS [Independent Association of University Students], Federation of Fighting Young People, KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland], Freedom and Peace, Antinuclear Federation, Movement of Alternative Society, Movement of Involved Society, Youth Movement "I Prefer to Exist," "Verbum" Academic Union, Franciscan Ecological Movement, and the

Ecological Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity of Gdansk Region. Among other things, it was resolved that a public debate on the issues of nuclear power generation would be held at the Gdansk MPiK [International Press and Book Club] in 2 weeks.

***Bielsko-Biala: Candidates Recommended**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 May 89 p 2

[Article by Jan Rutkowski: "Bielsko-Biala: Two Candidate Senators and Twelve Candidate Deputies"]

[Text] On 3 May, election conventions for districts 11 and 12 were held in Bielsko-Biala and Andrychow, at which PZPR candidate deputies and senators were presented and endorsed. A plenum of the PZPR Provincial Party Committee was held in the afternoon of the same day.

Having considered the motions and results of voting at the election conventions for districts 11 and 12, the provincial committee resolved to endorse as PZPR candidates to the Senate Prof Dr Marek Trombski, deputy rector for the Bielsko-Biala campus of the University of Lodz, and Ryszard Welter, FSM [Compact Car Works] director.

It was also resolved to endorse candidate deputies: Wladyslaw Mirola, chief of the Provincial Design Bureau in Bielsko-Biala; Associate Prof Dr Jan Wnuk, director of the Main Research and Development Center of the Textile Industry "South" in Bielsko-Biala; Jan Zolich, foreman of the Bus Service Station of the MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise], Roman Gren, chief of Jasienica gmina; Dr Wojciech Kojsek, deputy rector of the Cieszyn campus of the Silesian University; Jozef Szymaniak, section leader at the FSM-Ustron Forging Enterprise; Jacek Kulec, chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Provincial Board; Zenon Szewczyk, first secretary of the PZPR gmina-and-city committee in Wadowice; Bronislaw Zieba, retired teacher from Przytkowice; Stanislaw Habczyk, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Bielsko-Biala; Czeslaw Kastelik, Bielsko-Biala WPHW [Provincial Domestic Trade Enterprise] director, and Stanislaw Rakowski, chief of the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Department of Mechanized Engineering Work and the Roadbed in Sucha Beskidzka.

All of the above candidate deputies and senators had collected over 3,000 signatures of supporters.

***Czestochowa: Election Convention**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 May 89 p 2

[Article by (rb): "Czestochowa: Plenum Transforms Itself Into Electoral Convention"]

[Text] Numerous members of the aktiv from the entire province were invited to the plenum of the Czestochowa PZPR Provincial Committee along with the members of

the latter, almost 350 persons all told. The objective of the plenum was to nominate and endorse PZPR candidate deputies and senators. However, in view of such a numerous group being assembled, the suggestion was made at the beginning of proceedings to transform the plenum into an election convention of the provincial party organization.

Further proceedings went on in keeping with the nature of an election convention. Twenty-two persons in the running for nominations as candidate deputies and senators presented their candidacies in person, and one person did so through a representative due to his inability to attend because of a personal emergency. A majority of those presenting their programs stated in unison that creating conditions for an improvement in the economy will be the foremost task for the future parliament.

By a secret ballot, the conference nominated nine candidates for the three party seats assigned to the districts of Czestochowa Province. It was also resolved that two persons from among those in the running would become candidates for the Senate. Several candidates went to pre-election meetings directly from the convention.

***Kielce: Preparation for Campaign**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 May 89 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Wiacek: "Kielce: Maciej Lubczynski and Witold Zaraska Have Collected Over 20,000 Signatures"]

[Text] Yesterday [8 May], a plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Kielce was devoted in its entirety to preparations for the election campaign.

It was emphasized that procedures for nominating its candidate deputies and senators adopted by the PZPR Provincial Committee had been approved by members of the party and citizens of Kielce Province.

Party organizations and echelons, social, youth, and economic organizations had undertaken initiatives with regard to their fellow comrades, who could fulfill the most important civic duties most completely, with great responsibility and care.

The PZPR Provincial Committee plenum adopted a position paper on the election campaign for the Sejm and the Senate. It was resolved to give a complete vote of confidence and place on the ticket as Sejm candidates to the comrades who would gain the support of at least 3,000 citizens. Therefore, each of them may count on support from the provincial party organization.

Nine party members in Kielce Province are in the running for a candidate nomination to the Senate. Two of them, Maciej Lubczynski (head of department, secretary of the PZPR CC Commission of Party Work), and Witold Zaraska (founder and director of Exbud) had

gathered the most signatures—over 20,000. The provincial committee plenum resolved to give them complete support in the election campaign.

***Olsztyn: Candidates Submitted**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 May 89 p 2

[Article by Feliks Walichnowski: "On the Recommendation of Their Communities"]

[Text] At a plenum yesterday [8 May], members of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Olsztyn took a stand on the proposed party candidate deputies and senators, previously discussed in their communities and at district election conventions. It was resolved to refer the following comrades to district and provincial election boards for registration:

Andrzej Baltroczyk, editor in chief of *DZIENNIK POJEZIERZE*; Jerzy Dawgwillowicz [as published], chairman of the production cooperative in Tyrowo; Grazyna Pieczonka, head of department at the Knitting Enterprise Morena in Bartoszyce, and Pawel Roginski, director of the Garbno Agricultural Combine, will run for two seats in the Sejm.

Stanislaw Biczysko, commandant of the MO [Citizens' Militia] Higher Officers School in Szczytno, and Zofia Als-Iwanska, director of the Garment Industry Enterprise Warmia in Kietrzyn, were endorsed for the Senate.

***Other Voivodship Election Notes**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 May 89 p 2

[PAP report]

[Text] Among other things, it was stressed at the plenum in Biala Podlaska that ensuring vigorous involvement in the campaign by the broadest possible circles of society is the key task of party organizations. The need was also noted to raise the issues aggressively, indicating at the same time specific ways for resolving them.

The plenum in Suwalki was associated with a preliminary evaluation of the course of the election campaign to date in the province, and an analysis of the results of regional PZPR conventions. By a secret ballot, five candidate deputies and the party candidate for senator, Gen Arms Tadeusz Szacilo, were nominated. In the program of the latter, as he stresses himself, care for the natural environment of the Suwalki area and reinforcing the bond of the armed forces with society occupy an essential place, among other things.

The Provincial Committee plenum in Katowice directly preceded the proceedings of the provincial election convention of the PZPR. The number of those attending the convention was boosted by, among others, first secretaries of the party organizations in cities and gminas and

key enterprises of the province. In the course of the convention, 59 candidates were introduced who would be running for 21 deputy seats on the PZPR ticket. Also, three out of five announced candidates for senators were nominated by balloting.

The Provincial Committee plenum in Ciechanow met in a larger setting, with first secretaries of the basic party organizations from 35 largest enterprises participating. During the proceedings, the discussants emphasized, among other things, the need for close and direct cooperation with political parties and organizations belonging to the election coalition. After the plenum, at the provincial convention of the PZPR, a ticket of candidate deputies and senators was nominated. Also, endorsements were given to non-party candidates.

***Campaign Evaluation**

26000499 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
8 May 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Recommendations for the Best"]

[Text] The PZPR Provincial Committee in Elblag meeting in a plenary session on 6 May gave a favorable evaluation to the course of the election campaign to date in the PZPR echelons. Candidate deputies and senators nominated by the basic party organizations and echelons introduced themselves to the members of the provincial committee by way of brief statements. In the resolution passed, the committee empowered its executive board to file the names of party candidate deputies and senators with the district and provincial election commissions in order to register them.

PZPR Voivodship Plenums: Election Focus

***Poznan: Candidate Lists**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[Article by Henryk Heller: "'Yes' to Eighteen Candidates"]

[Text] Discussion in the course of proceedings chaired by First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Edward Lukasik provided many valuable conclusions, and views collected in the basic party organizations, at the meetings in enterprises and in the field, which had preceded the plenum. Statements by the speakers confirmed the comprehensive appreciation by the party communities of the basic truth that not only changes in party structures are necessary, but also a profound restructuring of the way of thinking of all its functionaries and members.

Said Dr Zbigniew Plenzer, ward head at the Lung Disease and Tuberculosis Hospital in Poznan: "In the entire current system of PZPR work, the subjectivity of the party member is the most essential point. We should conduct political and ideological activities in such a

manner that democratic centralism would be more democratic than centralist. This calls for changes, especially in the operation of central and voivodship echelons."

Other discussants also emphasized the necessity of eliminating all attempts at management, and of basing the work on persuasion, which calls for people prepared for party work, who combine professional and social skills.

The Voivodship Committee plenum adopted a resolution (with one abstention) setting forth the introduction of new principles of operation and structural changes in the Poznan PZPR organization.

"The mode of nominating candidate Sejm deputies and senators has now been considerably enriched," said member of the Voivodship Committee Secretariat Dr Henryk Polrolniczak, who subsequently presented the names of candidate deputies of the Sejm of the PRP and senators submitted for endorsement and review by the voivodship echelon.

This list was selected from among the 200-strong group of mandates for social activists submitted by basic echelons of the PZPR. Attendance at the pre-election PZPR meetings was high. Discussions at the meetings were controversial in nature, and were marked by high qualifications demanded by the voters of those who sought their trust.

Jan Kolodziejczak, 57, electrical engineer, director of the Great Poland Television and Electronic Equipment Enterprise Telkom-Teletra in Poznan, participant in the roundtable proceedings, member of the Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Commission for Reform and Economic Policy of the PZPR CC, became the PZPR senate candidate.

Here are candidate deputies:

Seat No 293: Marek Krol, editor in chief of the WPROST weekly; Wacław Rogalewicz, journalist with GAZETA POZNANSKA;

Seat No 296: Felicjan Rosynek, chairman of the Cooperative Agricultural Combine in Czempin; Jerzy Wislocki, director of the Kornik Library of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences]; Wiesława Ziolkowska, deputy manager of the Great Poland Potato Processing Enterprise in Lubon;

Seat No 299: Wojciech Kaczmarek, chairman of the Poznan WPZZ [Voivodship State Grain Elevators]; Marek Pol, deputy director at the Agricultural Car Factory Polmo in Poznan; Ryszard Witkowski, chairman of the Housing Cooperative "Neighborhood of the Young" in Poznan;

Seat No 301: Kazimierz Balczyński, director of the Regional Public Highway Administration in Gniezno; Marek Lis, maintenance worker at the housing cooperative in Swarzędz; Bożena Urbanska, director of the Public Library in Sroda;

Seat No 303: Antoni Czubinski, director of the Western Institute in Poznan; Jerzy Lutomski, director of the Herbal Industry Institute; Marian Podjacki, chairman of the District Council of the ZSP [Union of Labor Cooperatives];

Seat No 304: Andrzej Aumiller, manager of the Gardening Division at the Naramowice State Gardening Enterprise; Jerzy Pawlak, director of the Great Poland Factories of Furniture and Interior Treatments in Oborniki; Jan Jakobsze, chief specialist for crop cultivation at the State Farm Combine Galowo, Szamotuły Gmina.

***Wrocław: Senate, District Candidates**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[Article by Czesław Kubasik: "Wrocław: Worker-Candidates"]

[Text] "Our party's way of nominating candidates for the Sejm and the Senate of the PRP was the most democratic among all parties and social organizations. Basic party organizations suggested candidates in order for them to receive preliminary party endorsements for discharging these responsible functions from more than 1,500 electors in three electoral districts. This is the most representative group. It includes employees of industry, agriculture, science, education, and representatives of other groups."

"We are the only party in the voivodship which is running workers in the elections," said Deputy Member of the CC Politburo, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wrocław Zdzisław Balicki, opening the plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

Subsequently, candidate deputies and senators elected at party conventions were endorsed after their presentation and introduction to the members of the voivodship echelon. Prof Dr Józef Kaleta from the Economic Academy in Wrocław, and Dr Antoni Gucwinski, director of the Wrocław Zoo, are party candidates for senators. The plenum endorsed 16 candidates for the tickets of party candidates in three electoral districts:

Prof Dr Janusz Trzcinski, dean of the Department of Law and Administration at the University of Wrocław; Grzegorz Łukasz Siotor, director of the Institute of Teacher Training in Wrocław; Jerzy Kopacki, first secretary of the Wrocław-Old City PZPR Neighborhood Committee; Bogusław Was, electrical mechanic from the Dolmel in Wrocław; Jerzy Greszczenko, director of the

Plant Cultivation Station in Kobierzyce; Jozef Ziemianski, brigade foreman, metal worker-welder from the Pafawag; Mieczyslaw Gawel, director of the Fruit and Vegetable-Processing Enterprise in Pietrzykowice; Wlodzimierz Sokola, director of the Dolpasz in Wroclaw; Eugeniusz Muszynski, chief engineer for production technology at the Organika-Rokita in Brzeg; Jan Dalgiewicz, director of the Jelcz Car Works; Jan Golech, physician from Olesnica; Zygmunt Solecki, individual farmer from Zmigrod Gmina; Henryk Jurzykiewicz, chief specialist at the Polam; Michal Mazurkiewicz, research associate at the Agricultural Academy in Wroclaw; Jacek Uczkiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Neighborhood Committee Wroclaw-Downtown; Gen Antoni Jasinski, deputy minister of national defense.

***Szczecin: Additional Lists**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[Article by Henryk Prawda: "Szczecin: Let Us Unite and Be Unanimous"]

[Text] At its plenary meeting on 9 May, the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Szczecin, having reviewed the opinions of electoral conventions, resolved to endorse the following 16 PZPR candidate deputies out of 24 comrades-candidate deputies:

In electoral district No 92 in Swinoujscie, for seat No 361: Waldemar Buczynski, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee; Henryk Grzybowski, commander of the WOP [Border Guard Troops] Pomeranian Brigade; and Marian Jez, director of the PBO [General Construction Enterprise] in Nowogard.

In electoral district No 93 in Stargard Szczecinski, for seat No 368: Pawel Pieczonka, director of the Chociwel State Farm Combine; Boleslaw Suchodolski, director of the Stara Dabrowa Sate Farm Combine; Antoni Walczak, commander of the 12th People's Army Mechanized Division.

In electoral district No 91 in Szczecin, for seat No 356: Czeslaw Koralewski, craftsman; Maciej Manicki, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Shipbuilding Industry; Jacek Piechota, commandant of the West Pomeranian Detachment of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union]; Miroslaw Sobczyk, chairman of the Voivodship Board of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], and Dariusz Wicaszek, journalist with TV Szczecin.

For seat No 357 in the same district: Zenon Grabowski, director of the Adolf Warski Shipyard; Waldemar Grzywacz, professor of the University of Szczecin, chairman of the PRON Voivodship Council; Elzbieta Krawczak, chairperson of the board of the trade union of Spolem employees; Stanislaw Malinowska, employee of the ZPO [Garments Industry Association] Odra; and Elzbieta Marszalek, director of the Group of Economic Schools No 2.

At the same time, the Voivodship Committee plenum, in keeping with electoral conventions, expressed complete support for the party candidates for senators.

They are Ryszard Karger, chairman of the joint stock company Duty-Free Area Szczecin-Swinoujscie, and Wladyslaw Radziun, chairman of the Cooperative Agricultural Combine in Baszewice.

***Lodz: Women Candidates Noted**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[Article by Kaj.: "Lodz: Support for Fourteen"]

[Text] First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Elzbieta Wocikowska recapitulated the protracted procedure for nominating candidates. A list of 14 candidates, adopted at the previous meeting of the Lodz Committee, was retained after numerous consultations in the party organizations, in which 70 percent of party members in the voivodship took place.

Jozef Niewiadomski, first secretary of the Lodz Committee who chaired the proceedings, withdrew his candidacy for deputy. The third woman in this group seeking a deputy mandate was added to the list.

These candidacies were accepted by a majority vote in open balloting.

***Tarnobrzeg: Candidate Recommendations**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[Article by s.sz.: "Tarnobrzeg: Endorsements for the Best"]

[Text] Candidate deputies and senators nominated by basic party organizations introduced themselves to a plenary meeting of the voivodship party committee in Tarnobrzeg (9 May).

Eugeniusz Duma, first secretary of the PZPR enterprise committee at the Sandomierz [Glass] Plant said that "the candidate will win who will make a profound impression in the minds of voters through his interesting program and well-run election campaign."

Janusz Basiak, former first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnobrzeg, currently the head of the PZPR CC Department of Socio-Economic Policy, was nominated PZPR candidate for senator. Candidate deputies Eugeniusz Gutman, Jan Mackowiak, Karol Bury, and Wladyslaw Stepień were referred by the voivodship committee to electoral district No 94 in Tarnobrzeg. Jozef Kiszka, Kazimierz Wojas, and Joanna Proszowska were referred to electoral commission No 95 in Stalowa Wola.

In addition, the voivodship committee gave endorsements to several comrades referred to it as candidate deputies by other sociopolitical organizations of this voivodship.

***Gdansk: Secret Votes Noted**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[Article by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Gdansk: Party Mandate From Basic Echelons"]

[Text] Almost 3,000 basic party organizations in Gdansk Voivodship had a right to nominate their candidates in these elections to the Sejm, and to review the candidacies of persons endorsed for the Senate by the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

Party elements referred 67 candidates in four electoral districts for consideration by PZPR conventions of electors. Twelve among them were elected by secret ballot, and will run for six deputy seats on the Gdansk Coast.

The plenum adopted these personnel proposals, and empowered the leadership of the voivodship echelon to submit them with the endorsement of the PZPR to district electoral commissions. The party candidates are Jan Labecki, foreman at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; Mirosław Nowak, journalist and ZHP instructor; Jan Kuligowski, economist, research associate of the University of Gdansk; Włodzimierz Zwierzykowski, research associate of the Technical University of Gdansk; Piotr Kolodziejczyk, Rear Adm, commander of the Navy of the PRP; Jerzy Uzieblo, marine captain, functionary of the M. [as published] Trade Unions; Jerzy Jakubus, economist, director of the Polmos enterprise in Starogard; Zenon Sobiecki, farmer, chairman of the Zduny Agricultural Production Cooperative; Witold Cerowski, director of the school group in Koscierzyzna; Stanisław Michalowski, director of the Transrol in Pruszcz Gdanski; Ryszard Gorny, director of the state farm in Godetow; Andrzej Marsz, professor at the Maritime Higher School in Gdynia.

Subsequently, in keeping with the opinion of the conventions, the plenum endorsed by secret ballot election candidates for the Senate Jerzy Jedykiewicz, 43, governor of Gdansk, and Jerzy Kolodziejczyk, 55, professor at the Technical University of Gdansk.

PZPR CC Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty attended the proceedings.

****Constructive Opposition' Sought**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[Article by Mieczysław Kaca: "Radom: Senate Candidacy of Gen Kuropieska"]

[Text] In Radom Voivodship, the forthcoming elections have given rise to many civic initiatives. They were expressed in spontaneous nominations of candidates by

various communities. The latter proposed seven PZPR member as candidate senators, and 32 candidate deputies in electoral districts No 81 in Radom and No 82, headquartered in Białobrzegi.

Members of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum took a stand on these initiatives during its meeting on 9 May. The plenum stated its support for the democratic principles of conducting the election campaign, which also includes joint actions with allied political parties and organizations, and an opportunity for cooperation with the community of so-called constructive opposition.

The approach of the plenum toward all PZPR candidates who had secured 3,000 or more signatures of voters testifies to more profound democracy. To be sure, three of them withdrew their candidacies, but 29 were given full support. This means that in the Radom district, there are 12 candidates per one seat for a party deputy, and there are six in the Białobrzegi district. Let us recall that the opposition has nominated only one candidate per seat, and allied political parties and other PRON elements constituting the coalition have nominated considerably fewer candidates.

Seven PZPR members have stated their desire to run for two Senate seats. The plenum of the Voivodship Committee, which in this case assumed the form of a PZPR voivodship convention, came out in favor of supporting three candidates. By secret ballot, the support was given to Gen Arms Józef Kuropieska, a native of Jedlnia in the vicinity of Radom; Dr Alfons Czartoszewski, director of the Radom office of the Power Generation and Brown Coal Conglomerate; and Prof Jan Misiak, rector of the Higher School of Engineering in Radom.

***Other Voivodship Election Reports**

26000511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 May 89 p 4

[PAP report]

[Text] Specifying the most immediate tasks of the party organization in the current election campaign for the Sejm and the Senate, and confirming PZPR candidate deputies and senators were the issues considered on 9 May at the plenary sessions of other voivodship party echelons.

At the plenum of PZPR Krakow Committee the fact was noted with satisfaction that outstanding and meritorious residents of the voivodship, who enjoy authority throughout the country, are seeking seats in the Sejm and the Senate. May the programs and personality of candidates, their competence and dedication to the cause of reforms win in the democratic struggle for the seats in the Senate, as was stated in the course of the proceeding. Józef Lipiec, Jagiellonian University professor, Józef Siekierka, general director of the Housing Construction

Combine, and Jerzy Trela, actor at the "Old" Theater and rector of the PWST [State Higher School of Dramatics], became candidate senators.

It was stressed at the plenum in Leszno that the PZPR election platform adopted at the national conference of delegates is the basic dimension for the operation of the entire party. However, PZPR candidates also can and should present their own programs and ways to solve various problems, which are in line with the election platform, but take local problems into account. Much attention was paid to the issue of the election campaign in rural communities.

It was emphasized at the plenum in Lublin that the new political situation requires a complete mobilization of all party members in order to, among other things, secure the greatest possible support for the candidates nominated by the PZPR and the entire coalition. First secretaries of the basic-level PZPR echelons also took part in the proceedings. The plenum was transformed into a voivodship pre-election convention. It was established that for each of the three deputy seats to be filled by the PZPR in this voivodship two candidates will be nominated from among the party members who have managed to receive at least 3,000 signatures of voters. In the course of the plenum, the profiles and programs of 16 persons in the running for Sejm candidacies were reviewed. Six persons were given endorsements. It was

also resolved that in Lublin Voivodship Gen Brig Miroslaw Hermaszewski, the first Polish cosmonaut, and Leopold Zeidler, UMCS [Maria Curie-Skłodowska University] professor, would seek the Senate seat.

Election conventions in Nowy Targ and Nowy Sacz preceded the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Nowy Sacz. The plenum accepted the resolutions of both conventions, stressing that the voivodship party organization of Nowy Sacz would promote its candidate senators and deputies in a comprehensive manner, also addressing the fact that they come from various socio-professional communities.

"May the best represent us"—this was the motto of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenary session in Plock. Fifteen candidates for the senator and deputy seats joined the election struggle which lasted several hours. Along with party members, seven nonparty candidate deputies got their first electoral votes there. After a presentation and answers to questions, a secret vote was held in conjunction with the selection of candidates whom the PZPR will support in Plock Voivodship.

The same was the case at the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Tarnow, during which skillful promotion and support for the best candidate deputies and senators in the course of the election campaign were recognized to be the most important task.

Ceausescu Receives Balkan Meeting Delegates
AU0806184489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1736 GMT 8 Jun 89

[“President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives the Heads of the Balkan Countries’ Delegations Participating in the Ministerial Meeting on Industrial Cooperation and Transfer of Technology”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 8/06/1989—On Thursday, 8 June, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received the heads of the Balkan countries’ delegations participating in the ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology held in Bucharest.

The reception was attended by Farudin Hoxha, minister at the presidency of the Council of Ministers, head of Albania’s delegation, Lubomir Dachev, deputy minister of economy and planning, head of Bulgaria’s delegation, Dimitrios Diamantopoulos, secretary-general of industry at the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Technology, head of Greece’s delegation, Akin Cakmakci, undersecretary at the Ministry of Industry, head of Turkey’s delegation, Steven Santo, member of the Federal Executive Council, federal secretary for industry and energy, head of Yugoslavia’s delegation, as well as those countries’ ambassadors to Bucharest.

Present were Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, head of Romania’s delegation, other Romanian officials.

During the meeting the heads of the participant delegations took the floor and thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the interview they were granted, for the conditions ensured for the good course of the proceedings.

At the same time, stress was laid on the significance of the Bucharest meeting, of the issues debated regarding the development of industrial cooperation and transfer of technology, which is highly important for the speeding up of the Balkan countries’ socioeconomic progress. The satisfaction was also expressed at the fruitful character of the meeting, at the understandings in principle that were covenanted which emphasise the Balkan countries’ determination to expand their bi- and multilateral collaboration, laying the foundation of an ever more fruitful cooperation in future.

It was underscored that the sustained promotion of cooperation on multiple planes among the Balkan countries is in the mutual interest, in the interest of developing relations of friendship and good neighbourliness, of changing the Balkans into a zone of peace and collaboration.

During the interview, appreciating President Nicolae Ceausescu’s efforts for the development and strengthening of friendship and collaboration in the Balkans, the

heads of the delegations addressed the Romanian head of state warm wishes of success in his entire activity, and the Romanian people wishes of progress and welfare.

President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor at the end of the meeting.

The address was followed with interest.

Ceausescu Visits Farm Units in South
AU1106181489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1745 GMT 11 Jun 89

[“President Nicolae Ceausescu’s Working Visit in Farm Units”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/06/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of Romania, paid a working visit on Sunday, June 11, in state and cooperative farm units in southern Romania. The visit covered the Gruiu Cooperative Producer Farm in the Ilfov Agricultural Sector, the Milosesti Cooperative Producer Farm and the Slobozia State Agricultural Enterprise, in Ialomita County, the cooperative producer farms in Dragos Voda and Gurbanesti, Calarasi County.

During the visit that proceeded on a day of intense work in the fields, the party general secretary analyzed, together with the members of the bureaus of the county party committees, with responsible cadres and experts in agriculture, with other working people in agriculture, the organizational and technical steps taken for the performance in the best of conditions of all farm operations in the current period.

In the spirit of the decisions made at the recent meetings of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP, the working dialogue focussed on the major issues of the current summer agricultural campaign inaugurated recently in that zone of the country with the beginning of the barley harvesting that should be completed in a few days. Aspects were analyzed regarding the adequate use of the mechanical means and manpower, its transport and storage in the best of conditions, the clearing of the fields and the performance of sowing, the seeding of the double cultures. In barley and wheat fields of the visited units, the RCP general secretary analyzed the stage of vegetation of the cultures, assessing that good harvests would be obtained. In a show of season vegetables and fruit in Milosesti, achievements of horticulture were presented. Measures were established on the occasion for the further increase of the farm productions, for ever bigger crops to be achieved, at the level of the plans and programs established, of the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

Ceausescu Condolences on Khomeyni’s Death
AU0806121489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6
Jun 89 p 5

[Condolatory cable from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Iranian President Seyyed ‘Ali Khamene’i]

[Text] To Mr Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran

In connection with the passing away of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni, the leader of the Islamic Revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I want to extend sincere condolences to you and the Iranian people, and to express our whole sorrow to the bereaved family.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Diplomatic Relations With USSR Viewed
AU0806104589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0944 GMT 8 Jun 89

["Fifty-five Years Since Romania Established Diplomatic Relations With the Soviet Union"—a commentary in LUMEA magazine of 8 June 1989—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/6/1989—Diplomatic relations between Romania and the Soviet Union were officially established on 9 June 1934 when the foreign ministers of the two states exchanged letters in Geneva. It was a landmark event in the history of the traditional bonds of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian and Soviet peoples that Romanian public opinion welcomed with great satisfaction.

To establish and expand normal good neighbourly and mutually advantageous cooperative relations with the Soviet Union is known to have been one of the major aims of the Romanian Communist Party, steadfastly pursued by progressive quarters in Romania, by the masses, at a time when Romania's patriotic forces were waging a bitter fight against the fascist threat, for the country's development in freedom and independence, in a peaceful climate of cooperation with its neighbours, with all the states of Europe and the world. Significantly, the 9 June 1934 act was regarded by decisionmakers in many countries of the continent as an outstanding contribution to the promotion of peace and understanding in East Europe with broader political implications.

To the rich traditions of friendship and solidarity of the revolutionary movements in the two countries, with deep roots in history, fresh links were added in the years of fascist aggression when the fight for its defeat was waged in common. In defiance of terror and repression, the Romanian Communist Party, the progressive forces in Romania rose firmly against the preparations for the anti-Soviet war, and eventually for taking the country out of that war and for joining the anti-Hitler coalition. The brotherhood in arms of the Romanian and Soviet service men who fought shoulder to shoulder for the complete liberation of Romania, as well as of Hungary and Czechoslovakia until the defeat of the fascist army—that took a high human toll—cemented the friendship between the two peoples for ever.

The victory of the Romanian-Communist Party-led armed insurrection on 23 August 1944 that marked the beginning of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national insurrection ushered in a new era in Romania's history with cooperation with the Soviet Union strengthening and developing all along. On 6 August 1945 diplomatic relations between Romania and the Soviet Union were restored and on 4 February 1948 the first Romanian-Soviet treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance was signed and its provisions strongly promoted the mutual relationship. On 7 July 1970 a new treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance was concluded between the two countries which took the bilateral cooperation to a higher level and opened wide the path to a fruitful cooperation advantageous to both peoples.

A decisive role in the general growth of the Romanian-Soviet relations was played by the summit dialogue and understandings each of which gave fresh impetus to a manifold cooperation. Along that line, the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were highly significant moments that reasserted the common willingness to deepen the Romanian-Soviet relations and cooperation in all areas of activity.

The steadily growing course of the Romanian-Soviet relations shows in the deepening cooperation in all spheres, with the economy holding a place apart. Significantly, the Soviet Union has been Romania's largest trade partner with bilateral economic exchanges having been big all the time and being planned to grow further, whereas the understandings in force make provision for a constant expansion of the cooperation in the most diverse areas to mutual benefit.

Furthermore, on the international scene, Romania and the Soviet Union have been active promoters of disarmament, of the actions for the assertion of the new policy of independence, equality, cooperation and peace: The two countries have been working together fruitfully in that direction, including at the UN and in other international organisms.

The 55th anniversary of the establishment of Romania's diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union is to the Romanian people just another opportunity to express its belief that the Romanian-Soviet relationship will further expand and grow deeper, for the benefit of both peoples, and of the cause of socialism, peace, cooperation and understanding.

Dobrescu-Led TU Delegation Meets Medvedev
AU1006133789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1011 GMT 10 Jun 89

["Romanian-Soviet Exchange of Messages at Top Level"
—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 10/06/1989—A warm exchange of messages between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of Romania, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the CPSU, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, took place when V.A. Medvedev, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the CPSU, met with Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the General Union of the Romanian Trade Unions Central Council, head of a Trade Union delegation of Romania paying a swap-of-experience visit to the Soviet Union.

During the interview, stress was laid on the fine friendly and cooperative links on multiple planes between Romania and the Soviet Union, between the parties and peoples of the two countries, on the particular importance of the Romanian-Soviet summitry for their continual development and deepening, on the trade union's contribution to the expansion and strengthening of the traditional friendly links between the Romanian and Soviet peoples, in the interests of the cause of peace, socialism and progress throughout the world.

Oprea, GDR's Soelle Hold Talks, Sign Protocol
AU0706184489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1729 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 7/06/1989—On 7 June Bucharest was the venue of a working meeting between Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, co-chairman in the Joint Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical-Scientific Collaboration Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic, and Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, co-chairman in the commission.

Analysis was made, in the spirit of the understandings covenanted at top level, of the stage of implementation of the long-term programme regarding the development of the economic and technical-scientific collaboration, of cooperation and specialization in production between Romania and the GDR, as well as of the actions conducive to the growth of mutual economic exchanges.

At the end of the talks, the co-chairmen in the commission signed a protocol including the measures set on the occasion for the intensification of the economic cooperation on multiple planes between the two countries.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-9 Jun

AU1106152189 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 3-9 June period (source of each report given in parentheses):

Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Central Committee (CC), Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, and Ion Radu, PEC candidate member, offered condolences at the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest on 6 June for the 3 June train explosion. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1651 GMT 6 Jun 89)

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, and Cornel Pacoste, deputy prime minister, met with Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in Bucharest on 5 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 5 Jun 89)

Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu received a DPRK military delegation in Bucharest on 6 June. Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, attended the meeting. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1656 GMT 6 Jun 89) President Nicolae Ceausescu received Macdonald Amon Banda, new ambassador of the Republic of Malawi to Romania in Bucharest on 8 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 8 Jun 89) and on the same day, Ceausescu received and addressed representatives of a Balkan meeting in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1736 GMT 8 Jun 89)

Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, opened a Balkan ministerial meeting in Bucharest on 7 June. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 7 Jun 89)

Emil Bobu, member of the PEC of the RCP CC, met with Cuba's Fidel Castro in Havana on 8 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1814 GMT 8 Jun 89)

Lina Ciobanu, deputy prime minister of Romania, received a Guinean tourism official in Bucharest on 9 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1090 GMT 9 Jun 89)

Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, met with Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, in Bucharest on 7 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1729 GMT 7 Jun 89)

Manea Manescu, vice president of the Romanian State Council, offered condolences on Khomeyni's death, at the Iranian Embassy in Bucharest on 6 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 6 Jun 89)

Ion Sirbu, secretary of the RCP CC, met with SED General Secretary Erich Honecker in Berlin on 8 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 8 Jun 89)

Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, received a delegation of the International Union of Students in Bucharest on 8 Jun. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 8 Jun 89)

Croatian LC Condemns PRC 'Bloody Repression'
*LD1206191789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 12 Jun 89*

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Political observers and experts have yet to assess all the details of the events in China and their repercussions, both for China and for socialism. But already today, without having pretensions of passing final judgments, it must be said that a socialism which is imposed by tanks negates its basic starting point and goals. "Such socialism is not socialism, regardless of official rhetoric."

This was stressed at today's session of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Commission for International Relations by its chairman, Boris Malada. The proposal that a more comprehensive debate in the repercussions of the events in the PRC for the overall prospects for socialism in the world be prepared for the next session of the commission was supported by several members of the commission. But already today, it was said, there are sufficient elements for a sharp condemnation to be made of the bloody repression, for the victims of which there can be no justification. We were able to make an unambiguous verbal condemnation of the events of 1956, as well as of 1968, in the case of Chile and Palestine, as well as Afghanistan, so there is no reason for us not to make a clear-cut verbal condemnation today, too, not validating every word "with the chemist's precision of diplomatic phraseology", Malada said. [passage omitted]

More on Croatian Party Condemnation

*AU1206210689 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jun 89*

[Text] We now have a report by Snezana Knezevic on the meeting of the Commission for International Relations of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia, at which the participants condemned the events that took place in Tiananmen Square in Beijing:

[Knezevic] Like all tragedies, the Chinese tragedy is multifaceted and full of unknowns but could basically be reduced to one fact: Force was again used to curb democratic ideas, perhaps more brutally than ever before. This was stated by Boris Malada in a brief speech which was later adopted as a kind of statement which will be submitted to the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee.

However much the Chinese regime is trying to use the well-known phrases about counterrevolution, criminals, and bandits to justify the present repression, in one night, Tiananmen became the symbol of the ideological orthodoxy's dominance over democracy, the dominance of sheer force over unarmed people, the text states. The statement then goes on to say that one cannot react to the latest events in China casually with pharmaceutically, precisely measured diplomatic phrases.

According to the statement, there are at least two reasons for this condemnation. The first and the most important is the reason of humaneness. The Yugoslav Communists were also unequivocal in 1956 regarding the events in

Hungary, in 1968 regarding the suppression of the Prague Spring, and in the cases of Chile, the Palestinians, and Afghanistan.

The other reason, the document states, stems from the fact that Yugoslavia belongs to the world of socialism, regardless of how different it may be at present. The Chinese events could have unforeseeable consequences for the whole idea of socialism.

The statement goes further and says that behind bloodshed in Tiananmen was sheer totalitarianism, for whose essence the ideological precursor is completely irrelevant. The statement mentions the term Chinese rulers [vlastodrci] in several places and in two different contexts.

The first time it is mentioned is when it was said that the decision to shed blood did not have anything to do with the CPC, but that it was the result of a power struggle among different factions within the party. The second time it is mentioned is when the Chinese rulers were criticized for failing to learn the historic lesson that the people and their aspirations for freedom and democracy can only temporarily be run over by tanks.

The members of the Croatian LC Central Committee Commission for International Relations were also briefed about the Italian Communist Party Congress held last March by Stipe Suvar, although after a long delay.

Drnovsek Speaks at Meeting of World Bankers

*LD0706230889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0139 GMT 7 Jun 89*

[Text] Dubrovnik, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—On the basis of new developments in international relations, for which it can be said that they induce optimism, the world as a whole is entering a new epoch at the end of the century, an epoch in which cooperation based on joint interests and knowledge replaces confrontation, Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, said when welcoming on behalf of the Presidency and himself the eminent gathering of world bankers, which started today in Dubrovnik.

Stressing that its past and culture make this ancient city the right place for the gathering, Dr Drnovsek said:

We hope that the integration processes embarked on in the West will not lead to "protectionist fortresses," but, on the contrary, to a more liberal and intensive exchange of money, know-how, technology and goods, and to a widespread communication of people. From this viewpoint we assess and analyze significant changes in economic, social and political life in the East European countries, changes which broaden opportunities for bringing together opposing viewpoints.

We in Yugoslavia support and welcome such developments, which are in accordance with our historic orientations. In the Nonaligned Movement we have advocated from the start this kind of development by noting growing interdependence in the world and the need to

stimulate general development, so that everyone, both the developed and the less developed, could count on permanent progress and welfare. Today many of our aims and principles are becoming reality. We are acting in the movement and are preparing the ninth conference of the nonaligned countries, which will be held soon in Belgrade, from these standpoints.

Talking about the economic situation in the world, the president of the Yugoslav Presidency stressed that countries with developed economies have managed to revive and sustain dynamic economic activity in the past few years, as well as to curb the inflation, increase and broaden international trade and to carry out important structural economic adjustments based on the employment of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

These favorable market trends and development processes, however, mostly bypassed developing countries. Predictions and assurances that the economic growth and boom will transfer from the north to the south and stimulate economies of the countries of the south, have not materialized. Just a few newly industrialized countries are exceptions. The rest of the developing countries, and especially those with a heavy foreign debt have recorded slow economic growth or decline of production, and in some of them inflation has been rising quickly, and the fall in living standards has been dramatic.

However, there are indications that the overall dramatic dimension of the world debt crisis as a concentrated expression of the unsustainable present position of developing countries and a sign of a defective nature of the existing system of international economic relations has been realized recently. In connection with this, new ideas and concepts regarding overcoming the situation are being brought up. Here I have in mind the statement about the foreign debt prepared last year by the south commission for development problems, whose chairman, the honoured guest Julius Nyerere, is attending this gathering. Proposals of U.S. Treasury Secretary Brady are encouraging, too. French President Francois Mitterrand's initiative for resolving these problems, substantiated with specifically writing off part of debts of the most endangered countries, deserves special attention. Japanese and Canadian initiatives are important, as well as initiatives of other countries. It is especially important that the World Bank and the IMF work more intensively on conceiving their proposals and securing funds for speedier resolution of the debt crisis.

Dr Janez Drnovsek spoke about the economic situation in our country. He presented his vision of possible resolutions of the debt crises. In that context he said that at the beginning of 1980's the debt crisis, which had significant influence on the loss of the economic and social balance, escalated in Yugoslavia. The increase in interest rates on world financial markets presented an exceptionally great burden for our country, and the economic system was incapable of a speedy adjustment to the changed conditions. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that the increase in interest rates on world

markets resulted to a great extent from the inability of some most developed industrialized countries to adjust to new trends, the countries which could not or did not want to reduce their domestic consumption in order to maintain budgetary and foreign trade balance, but which were in the position to influence overall trends on world financial markets.

Developing countries such as Yugoslavia, Drnovsek stressed, had to accept these changed conditions—without an opportunity to influence them—and were forced to reduce their domestic consumption, even at the price of great economic, social and political tensions. The culmination of the debt crisis in Yugoslavia meant the beginning of economic stagnation and exceptional increase of inflationary pressures. We do not want to justify all our present economic and political problems with external influence and the phenomenon of the world debt crisis. However, it should be stressed that this external factor had and has a significant influence on our domestic trends. Living standards fell considerably, new investment was brought to a complete standstill, and thus development was also halted.

Today we are intensively adjusting our economy, having a very pragmatic objective to increase its efficiency. We are carrying out a deregulation of the economic system which in the past used to be too political and administratively directed. We are creating conditions for a completely independent activity of our enterprises and banks, in the conditions of market competition. We are introducing financial instruments such as shares, and are preparing the opening of a share market and other financial institutions. While opening up our commercial banks to both domestic and foreign competition, we are also inviting foreign banks to come to our country. We are changing the ownership structure of our enterprises and are opening them up to private initiative. In particular by stimulating the development of small-scale businesses, we wish to increase the efficiency of our socially-owned enterprises in competition with private sector. We have a new law on foreign investments which, we are convinced, makes it possible for both our and foreign partners-investors to realize their interests. We are open to all initiatives which lead to a higher efficiency of our economy and its intensive cooperation with partners outside the country.

Today Yugoslavia is facing a situation whereby it has at the same time to halt inflation, change the economic system and again revive the growth of the economy. These are very complex tasks, but we have no other choice than to carry them out, Drnovsek stressed. With the maximum efforts that we are making at this point in the domestic area for the realization of these objectives, we are also developing out international economic relations in such a way that they could be raised to a new level which would both make it possible to achieve and would stimulate the achievement of these objectives.

In conclusion the president of the Yugoslav Presidency spoke about the main direction of our activities which could, according to him, contribute toward solving the problems.

It is necessary, Drnovsek stressed, to decrease further the burden of servicing the debts which have so far been rescheduled several times and date back to the seventies. A possibility is to reschedule them further, but I believe that this is not enough and that this should also be supplemented with new solutions based on decreasing the nominal value of these debts. Possibilities here include various forms of substituting new debts with old ones, with stronger guarantees but a lower value from the nominal one.

Interest rates on the world markets are still under the influence of internal budgetary and other needs of individual most developed countries and have recently gone up again. Demands to neutralize such trends of interest rates for old loans, which used to be rescheduled up to now, are justified.

We are ready to continue making arrangements with the IMF and the World Bank which would serve our objectives: the reduction of inflation, a qualitative change of the economic structure, and a revival of economic growth.

Yugoslavia has so far already proposed methods for buying debts of commercial banks on secondary markets and is ready to supplement these methods.

We are inviting all foreign investors to take part in reviving our economy on the basis of market conditions, respecting our aspirations for a deregulation of our system and its opening up and integration with the international economic and financial system. This invitation in particular refers to the countries with a surplus in balance of payments, such as Japan for example.

Within a context of a market transformation of our economy further conditions are being created for Yugoslavia to come closer to some international economic integrations, as well as for its participation in some of them, such as the European Free Trade Association. With other integrations Yugoslavia will strengthen cooperation to the utmost, with the aim of establishing comprehensive and functional ties.

In relations with creditor countries, in particular the European ones, to which Yugoslavia owes most of its old debt (which has been already been rescheduled several times), there are also new opportunities to write off this debt, that is, to transform it into investment funds for those projects which are also in the interest of European countries, for example, the construction of a traffic infrastructure. In Yugoslavia this could not have been modernized, partly because of the difficulties resulting from repaying our debts. However, the construction of a traffic infrastructure would contribute toward creating conditions for a further integration of European countries.

Yugoslavia will also make efforts toward creating and implementing all these progressive solutions on a voluntary basis and in agreement with all interested parties, starting from the idea of mutual dependence. Dr Janez Drnovsek concluded, expressing the hope that the views heard in Dubrovnik will be of use to everyone, in accordance with the spirit of the time and mutual interest.

Drnovsek Attends Reception for Diplomats

LD1006164589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—Today in Beli Dvor, the Presidency held a reception for heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Yugoslavia. Besides President Dr Janez Drnovsek, Vice President Dr Borisav Jovic and members of the SFRY Presidency and other top officials of the federation, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Belgrade attended the reception.

The cordial and informal talks discussed at great length contacts between heads of diplomatic missions and the Yugoslav Government and institutions aimed at a successful development of relations, cooperation, and understanding between Yugoslavia and the countries which the diplomatic missions represent.

Markovic Congratulates Ryzhkov on Election

LD1006110989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—Today Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, sent cordial congratulations and best wishes to Nikolay Ryzhkov on the occasion of his appointment to the post of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The telegram expresses the conviction that "friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union will be consolidated and developed further in the interest of the peoples of our two countries, peace, equal international cooperation, and world progress."

Markovic Speaks at Assembly Presidents' Meeting

LD1206214289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1658 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Over the next 2 months the federal and eight republican and provincial assemblies will be in a state of mobilization due to the fact that nine system-pertaining laws will have to be passed. This view of the situation ahead, described as almost an emergency one, in which both the delegates and the architects of the country's economic policy will find themselves, was heard this evening during a meeting of presidents of the federal and eight republican and provincial assemblies. The meeting was also attended by Ante Markovic and Aleksandar Mitrovic, president and vice president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], respectively.

All were unanimous that the shortage of available time is the greatest problem. This period must be used in the best possible way to arrive at top solutions. [passage omitted]

This is our race against time, but we have no other choice. The job has to be done perfectly and in the shortest possible time, FEC President Ante Markovic stressed. If the system-pertaining laws fail to be passed within the given deadline there is no hope for large-scale

operative tasks to be fulfilled in the second part of the year. These tasks are an imperative for the next stage of the reform next year, he said.

Without wishing to prejudice anything, as he put it, he nevertheless went on to say that in view of the shortage of time at the FEC's disposal, the work on drawing up regulations could not have been done much better. We were consistent, Markovic added.

The presidents of the republican and provincial assemblies reiterated their awareness of the complex nature of the task, and once again extended their support for the FEC. No one denied the need for the summer term in the Assembly to end with the adoption of, above all, system- and reform-pertaining laws. Four of these laws have already been submitted to the Assembly for consideration. The delegates are expected to begin to consider the other five before the end of this month. [passage omitted]

Markovic Meets Republican, Provincial Leaders
LD0806084289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—The realization of the proposed program of measures of economic policy for 1989 should create favorable conditions for relatively dynamic economic growth this year, the acceleration of exports and imports, control over nonproduction expenditure, the strengthening of financial discipline and the start of the stimulation of investment. This should contribute to halting the growth of inflation by the end of the year and to starting its further reduction in the following year.

The proposed program of measures of economic policy for 1989 was considered today at a consultative meeting between the president of the Federal Executive Council, Ante Markovic, and presidents of the executive councils of the republics and provinces. [passage omitted]

Markovic Visits Macedonia, Greets Officials
LD1006134689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—Today Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and aides met top leaders of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in the Macedonian Presidency, within the framework of a 1-day working visit to Macedonia. Markovic was briefed about the current socioeconomic situation in the republic. [passage omitted]

Markovic Hosts Dinner With Foreign Journalists
LD0806082189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1956 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic was a guest this evening in the international press center at a dinner with foreign journalists accredited to Yugoslavia. In the course of their conversation, in which Franc Horvat, federal secretary for foreign economic relations also took part, as well as Zorn Miskovic, FEC general secretary, particular attention was devoted to topical issues of socioeconomic development in Yugoslavia.

Markovic Proposes Vukotic for FEC Membership
LD1206163889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic has proposed to the Yugoslav Assembly that Veselin Vukotic, lecturer at the economic faculty of Titograd, should be elected member of his cabinet.

The elections for FEC membership will be carried out at 14 June sessions of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly.

According to the Law on the Bases of State Administration and the Federal Executive Council, the government should comprise 19 members.

At a joint session of the two Yugoslav Assembly chambers held on 16 March this year, 18 FEC members were elected. The delayed appointment of Veselin Vukotic will thus complete the composition of the FEC.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Veselin Vukotic was born in 1949, in Titograd. Vukotic was a member of the Executive Council of the Montenegrin Assembly, director of the Republican Institute for Social Planning, coordinator in the Presidency of the Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee and he was also an ex-officio member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Tupurkovski on Democratization, Political Reality
LD1006154689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1119 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Vienna, June 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia finds itself in a process of the democratization that has become political reality and hence its political and economic reforms will in the foreseeable future bring about favourable results and proportional political stability—said a high-placed Yugoslav official here last night.

Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, was speaking about the main directions of the development of Yugoslavia's society. He emphasized that Yugoslavia committed itself to political pluralism and market-based economy. This had presumed such constitutional reforms as the separation of the party from the state, demonopolization of the party system, distancing from ideological dogmas, respect of market regularities, and a closer concentration on the individual rather than collective rights.

Tupurkovski pointed to the particular significance of reforming the LCY as the leading ideological force of society, which, as a conception, would be adopted at the forthcoming party congress towards the end of the year.

Tupurkovski stressed that there could be no policy of democratization and reforms without alternatives and that the entire Yugoslav society would see to it that the reforms be carried out successfully and Yugoslavia be included in European and world streams.

He also referred to the situation in Kosovo saying that nobody in Yugoslavia believed that the present special measures in this province were substituting a political solution of problems, although the measures were absolutely necessary for the preservation of both the constitutional and legal order and the country's integrity.

The different stands shown by certain constituent republics or peoples of Yugoslavia, said Tupurkovski, should be understood as part of the democratization of Yugoslav society, not as a clash between nations.

Pancevski Thanks Honecker for Election Greetings
AU0706191589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jun 89 p 2

[ND report: "President of LCY Presidium Expresses Thanks for Greetings"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Milan Pancevski, chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in a cable thanked Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, for greetings and congratulations on his election, and expressed his satisfaction with the successful development of cooperation between the two parties.

Gracanin Ends Official Visit to France 10 Jun
LD1006222889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1510 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracinin on Wednesday ended a two-day official visit to France and left for Yugoslavia.

Gracanin this morning visited Levallois-Peret where he became acquainted with the functioning of the city's civil defence.

At the same time, Secretariat for Internal Affairs Undersecretary Zdravko Mustac and Assistant Federal Secretary Jovan Vuckovic held concluding talks with senior officials of the French Ministry of the Interior.

Both sides assessed the visit as beneficial and French Interior Minister Pierre Joxe accepted an invitation to visit Yugoslavia.

Gracanin and Joxe exchanged views on cooperation between the two countries in the field of security and agreed to continue bilateral assistance, particularly in the struggle against drug smuggling and terrorism.

The talks also covered some open questions, primarily visas for Yugoslavs travelling to France.

Joxe explained why the abolition of visas was out of the question but indicated the possibility of a certain liberalization.

Gracanin was also acquainted during his visit with the method of operation of the special units for rapid intervention of the French national police.

Jansa, Others 'Saved' Key Slovene Officials
AU0906200789 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] The four people sentenced by the Ljubljana Military Court have published an article in the Slovene issue of KOMUNIST today demanding to be pardoned. They claim that they have saved the present key Slovene politicians, but those politicians have turned their backs on them. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic:

[Atanasijevic] This article carried in the Slovene issue of KOMUNIST today can be called sensational; that is, sensationalist. The reader cannot avoid the feeling that there is truth in it because it looks like revenge by people who seem to have been sacrificed. People in the know will certainly react immediately and present the real state of affairs.

Franci Zavrl, David Tasic, Janez Jansa, and Ivan Borstner claim that they have been submitted to many pressures during the investigation and that the military prosecutor promised that they will be acquitted or treated as having been misled and deceived and therefore given very mild sentences if they admitted that Slovene politicians were behind the attacks against the Yugoslav People's Army.

In these critical moments, the four people say, key Slovene politicians survived thanks to their being sentenced and not giving in under the pressure aimed at finding an excuse for the use of military and political pressure against Slovenia.

Instead of being grateful for this favor, Slovene politicians have (?imprisoned) the four people and are now trying to slur them politically and morally. Moreover, some of those politicians are trying to present themselves as the very people who have done their best to help the sentenced people.

This is the gist of the article carried in the Slovene issue of KOMUNIST today, the article which casts a shadow on some Slovene leaders. The four sentenced people acknowledge the Human Rights Committee as the only body supporting them.

This sensationalist article poses two dilemmas to the reader: The first one is why the authors chose KOMUNIST; this being a mere accident is out of the question. The second one is whether Igor Bavcar himself participated in writing the article because the four people glorify him, although it was he who failed to use all chances to postpone [words indistinct] their imprisonment and to mitigate the sentence.

The four ascribe to Bavcar's committee the merit of preventing violent conflicts thanks only to its reputation and strength. Only a naive person could think that Bavcar was not involved in the writing of the article.

After his notes about his talks with the highest Slovene politicians were published, the leader of the Human Rights Committee obviously wanted to give the ungrateful Slovene politicians tit for tat once again, this time with the help of the four people who now express their gratitude to Bavcar and the democratic public alone and expect the republican state and political forums to fulfill their promise and acquit them.

Further on Jansa, Other Claims

AU1006171389 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Yesterday's appeal by the four convicted by the Ljubljana Military Court, published in the Slovene edition of KOMUNIST under the title We Want Freedom, merely continues the propaganda and political opposition game that has been going on for more than 1 year and shows that the cox of the four, Bavcar, intends to carry on. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Atanasijevic] The appeal signed by Zavrl, Tasic, Jansa, and Borstner, and which certainly involved Igor Bavcar, marked the anniversary of the beginning of the well-known Ljubljana trial, the intention obviously being that this event should not be forgotten.

Their text in the Slovene edition of KOMUNIST is thoughtfully divided into two interlinked chapters. The first states that during the investigations, the four were exposed to many pressures and that the military prosecutor promised them that they would be freed or receive very mild sentences if they admitted, as misled and blinded people, that Slovene politicians stand behind the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army. Had this thesis been based on fact, it is certain that the Human Rights Protection Committee would have used it much earlier to the maximum.

The intention of the assertion formulated in such a sly way is again to cast a dark shadow on the military courts, and thus on the Yugoslav People's Army itself, a shadow that should (?complete) all the well-known Ljubljana pressures, not only on the military courts but also on military medical services, and other military organs. Of course, as on all previous occasions, the four coxed by Igor Bavcar again avoids, like the devil avoids the cross, to mention the document with the military secrets and to explain why they needed it.

The second chapter of the appeal by the convicted four contains the assertion that precisely the four, with their stand before the military court and the activities of the Bavcar committee, saved not only democratic achievements in Slovenia but also the political fate of some key politicians in the republic.

In these difficult times, Zavrl, Tasic, Jansa, and Borstner say, the Slovene politicians have survived and in return they have put the four into prison and tried to morally discredit them.

When the two chapters of the appeal by the four are tied together into one, a logical conclusion may be drawn: What is involved is a settling of accounts on two fronts. The first intention is to discredit the Yugoslav People's Army, against which one may expect a continuation of the propaganda action by the Bavcar committee and the national democratic Slovene public. The second intention is to inflict a blow at the ungrateful Slovene political leadership which, as the four say, has its mouth full of Slovene sovereignty, but at key moments keeps silent or searches for mistakes in the moves of the Human Rights Protection Committee.

This criticism is not harmless. In the style of the famous Bavcar's opposition slogan, only we possess proper answers to all the questions, it is designed to forge the road for the alternative and the united opposition so that it may win as many votes as possible at the elections in the spring of next year. Two more things stand in the background of these two fronts: The first is that Bavcar and his envoys do not intend to get their hands off wide international activities, and one knows what these activities are like. The second is that the leader of the Human Rights Protection Committee intends to keep extending his mandate for activities on the domestic and international scene, which he put so nicely in his unfinished notes after talks with the Slovene political leadership: Why do I care if Milan Kucan says that publishing these notes is an immoral act without limits?

General Staff Chief Meets Romanian Counterpart

LD1106135189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—The SFRY Armed Forces chief of the General Staff, Colonel-General Stevan Mirkovic, and the Romanian Armed Forces chief of the General Staff, Major-General Stefan Gusa, had a working meeting in Temisoara today. They discussed cooperation between the Armies and the further development of this cooperation.

Commentary Views Necessity of Rehabilitations

AU1106193389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
27-28 May 89 p 1

[Dragan Belic commentary: "The Trials of Temporary Saints"]

[Text] Cynics claim that in the places where the principles of political rehabilitation prevail, the future is even more uncertain than the past. However, let us leave both cynics and the past aside because, from the point of view of civilization's standard wisdom, the future is shown to be the only uncertain category, while "filing the past away into archives" represents a completely natural process of continually assessing historical facts on the basis of the criteria of pure and impartial science. However, the course of history, and particularly the political systems in it, are not as perfect as cynics would like them to be....

At this moment, political rehabilitations seem to be the reality of Yugoslav society and an organic and inevitable part of its democratization. Reality and democratization no longer and by no means have only one meaning and do not permit crude use of daily politics and the (ab)use of so-called historical justice, aimed both at promoting individual political groups.

Rehabilitations are a necessity of the present political and historical times but are also burdened by a number of controversies that are ingrained in such delicate steps. At first there is only the rudimentary aspect of the act and it is only later, as the historical consciousness develops, that the other, more delicate sphere appears in which groups of historical facts are arranged in the civilization's usual order in order to be finally reposed in the depositories of history.

There are no rehabilitations without anathemas. In order for somebody to be rehabilitated he must have been anathematized first; he must have been branded as a heretic, a renegade, and a dissident. It is much more than simply the question of political and historical patience. At the moment of his political comeback [transliterated English word used], the rehabilitated person inevitably appears in the form of a temporary saint, because his long-lasting position of a heretic, regardless of the cruelty of a political potentate he had exhibited in the past, supplies him with the saintly aura of martyrdom because of the past anathema on him and his status of a victim. The complicated historical tangle of these relations—membership in a consecrated political circle, the status of a renegade, anathema, and a dissident who is waiting for the final rehabilitation—is at least a historical plot and at most a "temporary" political course which, while always reckoning with "eternal truths," falls into the trap of the present time.

As regards the current Yugoslav situation, demands to politically rehabilitate Djilas or Rankovic, for instance, are not devoid of the need to serve daily politics, but they nevertheless warn us that the consequences of historical fallacies and mistakes must be removed in the present times, for the sake of the future as well. Objectively speaking, the public mention of Djilas and Rankovic is more important than the fate of the two, as it represents another warning that socialist society must be an open society of dialogue and competition between different ideas and concepts, a society without excommunications and dissidents so that stepping down from power would no longer mean a complete anathema. Discussion about Djilas and Rankovic has its point if it is also an attempt to assess their roles properly, without ideological and similar slurs, but it will have full meaning only if it represents a step toward the present and future times in which there will be no need for sinners and anathemas, the times in which there will be no heresies, heretics, or rehabilitations.

If the current rehabilitation processes remain only at the level of current political needs, then they will not reach their basic and essential aim. For in that case our recent past will remain partly "mystical" and the present times will reach for new anathemas and create new heretics who will then be expecting historical justice. Of course, this would only create new circles of potentates and renegades in which the view of the minority will be

undesirable and full of risk and socialism will be doomed to the fate of single opinion and subjection.

The aura of a victim now placed around the heads of the fallen angels will have to be put under the analysts' magnifying glass and subjected to the strictness or mercy of impartial history. That can prove to be a long and complex process, but precise historical measurements cannot be avoided. A free and democratic debate on our recent past, a debate conducted through persuasive and thorough analyses of the relations of forces, ideas, conflicts, and different opinions is necessary in order to make history "work" to the benefit of a more peaceful and certain future, and there can be no free and democratic dialogue without it now.

Such discussions (about rehabilitations) are a condition for the further democratization of the society. However, one should realize that these discussions have already created a tendency to present some personalities in a more favorable light than historical facts would have shed on them, and that is only because all that brightness is needed to serve some current political options. In this framework one can also see the intention to use some of these rehabilitations in order to call into question even those parts in Tito's work which represent an eternal value. Because of all that, rehabilitations must be the question of historical science, and not of current politics. Djilas as an individual can make an insufficiently precise assessment of various matters, including, for instance, Tito's theoretical contribution, and just because of that science has to have the final and deciding word.

The public discussion about rehabilitations will have its proper and lasting effect only if there are no more rehabilitations tomorrow! Anything else would only be a delayed and perhaps unnecessary source of satisfaction to some individuals.

Jevtic Comments on Visit to Soviet Republic

AU1006200389 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] The delegation of the Republic of Serbia, headed by Desimir Jevtic, president of the Republican Executive Council, concluded its visit to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] today. Immediately before the end of the visit, our journalist Branislav Canak interviewed Desimir Jevtic about the results of the meetings with the highest representatives of the RSFSR and the prospects for Yugoslav-Soviet economic relations.

[Begin recording] [Canak] Comrade Jevtic, last week you had some very significant meetings in Moscow, and you also visited Tyumen and (?Lipetsk). What are your impressions of the visit to the RSFSR?

[Jevtic] Well, the visit was very useful to both the RSFSR and our side. In these rather complicated economic relations, when the trade deficit has become unbearable, I think that we agreed that both sides will avoid making any rash moves.

I think that we in Yugoslavia, (?as well as the) Russian, Soviet centers for imports from Yugoslavia (?believe) that rash moves are not the best solutions. We have agreed—and I hope we will succeed in realizing it—to embark upon a selective examination of the problems of the deficit that has arisen, to examine the causes, (?and to make decisions) primarily to preserve the long-term cooperation, for blanket measures usually harm long-term cooperation most. Those who look at the short term usually do better.

On the basis of what we have discussed here, I think that there is mutual agreement that we should act in that way, both in finding the business moves and in finding the financial opportunities for solving some deficit problems that exist. For instance, both sides accepted that one should embark on a clearing of existing debts; considering that some Yugoslav enterprises owe money to the USSR, the USSR, to put it simply, owes money to Yugoslavia, and the clearing of debts could be effected so that our enterprises will owe money to Yugoslavia, which is to say the National Bank, thereby reducing our mutual debt.

I hope that in the coming 15 or 20 days we will prepare some specific proposals in Yugoslavia. I know that the Federal Executive Council is preparing solutions, and I think there should be no problem in the Assembly, for interest exists in several republics, which means that it will be easier to (?reach agreement.)

[Canak] And how was it in Siberia, in Tyumen?

[Jevtic] The opportunities for cooperation are tremendous. The feeling exists for developing this cooperation. There is demand in that region for goods from Yugoslavia, and there exist inexhaustible opportunities to match the purchase of these goods with (?imports) from Siberia, the USSR. Oil and gas are base industries in that region. For instance, their oil production could meet Yugoslav demand in 7 weeks.

[Canak] When one talks about Yugoslav-Soviet economic cooperation, one of the serious problems is often mentioned. This is the low share of higher forms of economic cooperation in overall trade. Could change be made here?

[Jevtic] I think that the fault exists on our side. Here one speaks normally about joint enterprises with the Italians, the Swedes, the Finns, as normal enterprises that have been working for a long time. To tell the truth, we, too, have a number of enterprises agreed upon and some that have been set up, but I would say that this has not yet taken sway and great chances for development exist here. Such enterprises are quite a normal thing here. It seems that a joint enterprise is less normal in Yugoslavia than in the USSR, and this is surprising.

Therefore, I think that regardless of the surplus that certainly imposes a burden on Yugoslavia, especially in this galloping inflation, we should not for a minute allow this market, for which the whole world is striving—and it is a tremendous market—slip from our hands. We

must not allow this for a minute, regardless of the partial interests and (?objections). [end recording]

Trade Agreement Concluded

LD1106032789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2215 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) will expand cooperation in agriculture, the exchange of consumer goods, light industry, construction and other fields, Serbian Premier Desimir Jevtic said on Saturday.

At a press conference upon returning from Moscow where he headed a Serbian delegation on a visit to the RSFSR, Jevtic said that the two sides agreed on resolving the problem of Yugoslavia's large surplus in trade with the Soviet Union through imports of Soviet natural gas and oil and "other deals."

The Soviet Union owes Yugoslavia 2.1 billion dollars.

Besides talks with his host, RSFSR Premier Aleksandr Vasilyevich Vlasov, Jevtic also met in Moscow with RSFSR Premier Aleksandr Vasilyevich Vlasov, Jevtic also met in Moscow with RSFSR Presidium President Vitaliy Vorotnikov and Soviet Deputy Ivan Silayev.

The Yugoslav delegation also visited the Tyumen region in western Siberia where Yugoslavs will build a sugar plant.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Elects New Officials

LD1006132789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—The Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly today elected Dr Nedjo Milicevic, previously a member of the council, and Jadranko Prlic, president of the Executive Committee of the Mostar Municipal Assembly, as vice presidents of the Republican Executive Council. In the executive council they will head the commissions for internal policy, legislation and organization, and economic and development policy. Dr Milenko Dostic was elected member of the Republican Executive Council, and he will be concerned with the economic system.

Today elections were held by secret ballot among several candidates.

Smajo Alagic delegate of the Chamber of Associated Labor, was elected chairman of the assembly commission for control of the legality of work by the security service. The new judge of the Republican Supreme Court is Muamer Hercegija.

The Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly today elected several republican secretaries and presidents of republican committees, in line with the new organization framework of the republican government. Dzemail Hadziabdic from Tuzla was elected to the post of republican secretary for the economy; Vojin Tegeltija was elected secretary for legislation and organization; Dr Mitar Basovic was elected

secretary for agriculture, water and forestry; Dragutin Sipka was elected secretary for transport and communications; and Mustaf Dizdarevic was elected republican secretary for town and country planning. Nedeljko Milenkovic was elected president of the Republican Committee for the international cooperation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Dr Milenko Brkic was elected president of the committee for education, science, culture, and physical education; and Dr Momir Macanovic was elected president of the committee for health and social policy.

Slovene 'Greens' Form Political Association

LD1106212189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1930 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] Ljubljana, June 11 (TANJUG)—The association of "Greens" founded (?in Ljubljana) today marks the appearance of a new political movement on the Slovenian political scene.

By constituting themselves into a political organization based on the common interest of people and not on ideology, the "Greens" desire to overcome the lack of efficiency and fragmented nature of the existing ecological groups and factions in Slovenia and the limited scope of political activity. Their ambition is to field their own candidates at next year's elections and take a direct part in the sphere of decisionmaking via the parliamentary system at [words indistinct].

In contrast to other newly-formed associations in Slovenia, the "Greens" are more aware that ecology knows no republican boundaries, so that they have underscored the all-Yugoslav dimensions of their activities. Their slogan—"for a green Slovenia, Yugoslavia, Europe, for a green planet"—represents further evidence that they do not recognize national frontiers in their activities.

A 15-member executive committee headed by Dr Dusan Plut was elected at constitutional assembly of the "Greens," who will until the adoption of the law on the interest and political association of citizens act under the umbrella of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia.

Medical Employees Protest Bad Work Conditions

LD1206133189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Kopar, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—About 2,700 employees in medical and social services in the Primorska and Kras area [southwest Slovenia] went on an announced 1-day strike today to protest their exceptionally bad material status and increasingly difficult work conditions. The strike is led by the regional trade union Council of Medical Workers, which over the last year demanded frequently that the unbearable situation in medical services in this area be solved. Its employees have personal incomes noticeably below the average level in manufacturing and services. [passage omitted]

BORBA Conducts Poll on Moral, Social Values

AU1006172389

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 27-28 May on pages 4-5 publishes an approximately 3,600-word report on the results of an opinion poll carried out by BORBA's public opinion research center entitled "BORBA Barometer: Long Fingers of Crisis." The research center polled 21 people from each republic who were randomly selected from the telephone directory. The 126 people were chosen from the age groups: 15 to 25 years, 35 to 45 years, and 55 to 65 years but the number of respondents from each age group is not specified. The poll was carried out by six researchers, one from each republic.

The results of the poll are presented in 19 tables, under the general heading "Guiding Values of SFRY Population." Tables 1 through 6 deal with questions of marriage, friendship, love, life, work, and money, and tables 18 and 19 with most valued and least valued occupations. The other 11 tables are presented below:

Table 7. With which republic would you most like your republic to cooperate?

	percent
15-25 age group	
1. With all republics	40
2. With Slovenia	14.5
3. With Serbia	5.5
4. With Croatia	5.5
5. With Montenegro	3.5
6. With Macedonia	1
7. With Bosnia-Herzegovina	0.1
8. Do not know	29
35-45 age group	
1. With all republics	55
2. With Montenegro	12
3. With Serbia	12
4. With Slovenia	8.5
5. With Croatia	7
6. With Macedonia	4.5
55-65 age group	
1. With all republics	65.5
2. With Montenegro	13
3. With Serbia	11
4. With Croatia	[figure missing]
5. With Slovenia	[figure missing]

Table 8. What sort of army does the SFRY need today?

	percent
15-25 age group	
1. The present one	69.5
2. Not at all necessary	7
3. According to republic and province	0
4. Do not know	23.5

35-45 age group	
1. The present one	97
2. According to republic and province	3
55-65 age group	
1. The present one	96
2. Not at all necessary	22.5
3. According to republic and province	1.5

Table 9. Would you defend all the borders of the SFRY?

15-25 age group	percent
1. Yes	68.5
2. Of Slovenia and Croatia	4.5
3. Of one's own republic	4
4. Do not know	23
35-45 age group	
1. Yes	97
2. No	3
55-65 age group	
1. Yes	97
2. No	2.5

Table 10. What do you think of Yugoslavia as it is today?

15-25 age group	percentage
1. It is in deep crisis	59
2. I do not like it	41
35-45 age group	
1. It is in deep crisis	66
2. I do not like it	4
3. I do not know	30
55-65 age group	
1. It is in deep crisis	70
2. I do not like it	23
3. It is improving	7

Table 11. What do you think about the countries of the developed West?

15-25 age group	percentage
1. I like them	70
2. An example to follow	26
3. Nothing in particular	4
35-45 age group	
1. I like them	55
2. An example to follow	26
3. Nothing in particular	19
55-65 age group	
1. I like them	83
2. An example to follow	9
3. Nothing in particular	6
4. I do not know	2

Table 12. What sort of Yugoslavia would suit you?

15-25 age group	percentage
1. Economically strong	56
2. United	35
3. The present one	5
4. With pluralistic democracy	[figure missing]

35-45 age group	
1. United	79
2. Developed	11
3. Economically strong	6
4. Like Yugoslavia 1965-76	2
5. As proposed by Slovene alternative movement	2
55-65 age group	
1. United	44
2. Economically strong	32
3. The one we have thought up	18
4. Yugoslavia of the seventies	6

Table 13. What should be changed?

15-25 age group	percentage
1. Change system and the leadership	30
2. Keep system and change leadership	21
3. Keep institutions but reduce them	8.5
4. Change leadership	8.5
5. Change system and keep leadership	6.5
6. Do not know	25.5
35-45 age group	
1. Change system and leadership	55
2. Change leadership	27
3. Change leadership, keep institutions	18
55-65 age group	
1. Change system and leadership	40
2. Change leadership but not institutions	22
3. Keep system, change leadership	5
4. Do not know	32

Table 14. Is socialism at all necessary?

15-25 age group	percentage
1. Yes	44
2. No	35.5
3. Do not know	20.5
35-45 age group	
1. Yes	50
2. No	16
3. Do not know	32

55-65 age group

1. Yes	65
2. No	18
3. Do not know	17

Table 15. What is your ideal system?

15-25 age group

	percentage
1. Capitalist	20
2. There is not one	18
3. Socialism but not like this	9
4. A mixture of capitalism and socialism	4.5
5. Communism	3
6. Multiparty system	2
7. Do not know	43.5

35-45 age group

1. Does not exist	35
2. (Theoretical) Communism	13
3. Capitalism	11
4. Mixture of capitalism and socialism	8
5. The existing one	2
6. Do not know	21

55-65 age group

1. Does not exist	34
2. Communism	11
3. Capitalism	9
4. Socialism	9
5. Multiparty	8
6. Do not know	29

Table 16. Which personality is your ideal?

15-25 age group

	percentage
1. I do not have one	36
2. Slobodan Milosevic	6
3. Margaret Thatcher	4.5
4. Mikhail Gorbachev	3
5. Ljubisa Stankovic	3
6. Eric Clapton	3
7. Drazen Petrovic	2
8. Nikola Tesla	2
9. Koca Popovic	2
10. Do not know	38.5

35-45 age group

1. I do not have one	14
2. Slobodan Milosevic	11.5

3. Mikhail Gorbachev

4. Tito	7
5. Smole	4
6. Kucan	2
7. A successful private businessman	2
8. Parents	2
9. Others	55.5

55-65 age group

1. Slobodan Milosevic	19
2. Mikhail Gorbachev	2
3. Margaret Thatcher	2
4. Lenin	2
5. Veljko Vlahovic	2
6. Tito	2
7. Vasil Tupurkovski	2
8. Momir Bulatovic	2
9. Others	67

Table 17. Which country is your ideal?

15-25 age group

	percentage
1. Switzerland	19
2. None	14
3. United States	13
4. France	7
5. Our country 10-15 years ago	6
6. Sweden	6
7. FRG	5
8. Britain	5
9. Japan	3
10. USSR	2
11. Others	20

35-45 age group

1. United States	20
2. Switzerland	16
3. None	12
4. FRG	4
5. Japan	3
6. Yugoslavia	2
7. Others	43

55-65 age group

1. Switzerland	18
2. FRG	11
3. Sweden	9
4. USSR	8
5. Japan	4
6. Austria	4
7. Others	46

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